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HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

ACCOUNT

OF

BRITISH INDIA,

FROM

THE MOST REMOTE PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME:

Including

NARRATIVE OF THE EARLY PORTUGUESE AND ENGLISH VOYAGES, THE REVOLUTIONS IN THE MOGUL EMPIRE, AND THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRITISH POWER: WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ZOOLOGY—BOTANY—CLIMATE, GEOLOGY, AND MINERALOGY:—ALSO MEDICAL OBSERVATIONS,—AN ACCOUNT OF THE HINDOO ASTRONOMY—THE TRIGONOMETRICAL SURVEYS—AND THE NAVIGATION OF THE INDIAN SEAS.

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Hon. East India Company's Service.

WITH A MAP, AND TWENTY-SIX ENGRAVINGS BY BRANSTON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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British Conquest of Bengal.

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THE British establishments in Bengal had, during a long period, held only a secondary place, and been subservient to those formed on the coast of Coromandel. But the time was now arrived when they

were to become the theatre of the most interesting events, and finally the centre and chief seat of our Indian dominion. The manner in which the factory at Calcutta was first founded has been already mentioned,* and it continued to extend its importance, notwithstanding the opposition experienced during the viceroyalty of Jaffier Khan. Their situation became greatly improved when the office of nabob was occupied by Sujah; but on the death of that prince, his son Suffraze Khan, a weak and imprudent ruler, was dethroned, and his place usurped by Aliverdi Khan, a chief of Patan or Afghan extraction, possessed of great military talents. Notwithstanding the irregular elevation of the latter, he administered the government, not only in an able, but a mild and beneficent manner. This he did under difficult circumstances; for the Mahrattas, invited it is said either by the Mogul court or the subahdar, found their way in vast bodies into Bengal; and, though often repulsed, repeatedly renewed their inroads. The prudence and valour of Aliverdi preserved his dominions from conquest, but not from ruinous depredation. He secured the attachment of his Hindoo subjects, as well by protecting their property, as by employing them in all the civil departments of government. He was thus not likely to oppress industrious strangers settled in his dominions. The English had only to complain, that amid the severe exigencies of his situation, he made repeated demands for remuneration in return for the protection granted to their trade; yet his entire exactions, during an administration of twelve years,

* Vol. i. p. 376.

did not exceed £100,000. He made no objection, when there was an alarm of invasion, even to their enclosing Calcutta with a ditch, meant to extend seven miles in circuit; though, as soon as the danger passed by, they discontinued the work, which was afterwards known by the name of the Mahratta ditch.

Considerable uneasiness, indeed, is supposed to have been felt by him at the accounts which he received relative to the ascendency of the English and French in the Carnatic, who created and deposed governors at their pleasure. Finally, the downfal of Angria, of whose naval strength he had been led to form an exaggerated idea, made him begin to look on them as somewhat too formidable neighbours.

When Aliverdi died, he was succeeded by his grandson Surajah Dowlah, a dissolute and tyrannical prince, who adopted these jealousies with much greater vehemence. He was also irritated by the protection afforded, seemingly without design, by the English to a young man whom he viewed as a pretender to the office of nabob. Lastly, his very exaggerated conceptions of the wealth to be found within their factory, made him seek with avidity any ground on which he could be justified in plundering its contents. The ostensible cause of complaint arose from a report that they were making certain additions to the fortifications around Fort William. Mr Drake, the English governor, on being called upon to account for this proceeding, defended it by stating the hostile relations of his countrymen with the French on the coast of Coromandel, and the danger lest the war should spread thence into Bengal. This ill-judged explanation inflamed at once the pride and the fear of the nabob; who considered it an insult to

suppose that he, in his own dominions, was unable to protect them, and who was also alarmed at the idea of the war being transferred from Coromandel to Bengal. He immediately began his march from Rajemahl towards Calcutta, stopping at Cossimbuzar, where the Company had a factory very slightly fortified, without ditch or palisade, and of which the curtains formed the outer wall of a range of apartments. Under these circumstances, the nabob having summoned first Mr Watts, the governor, and then the two other members of council, to repair to his camp, these gentlemen judged it vain to decline; and though Mr Holwell in one place seems to arraign their conduct for not having attempted a few days' defence, yet the danger of a general massacre was in that case so great, and the probable benefit so small, that we do not perceive any good ground for censure. They were then required to sign a paper, promising compliance with all the nabob's demands; yet, instead of being allowed to return to the presidency, they were detained as prisoners, while the troops of Surajah entered and plundered the factory.

The council at Calcutta, sensible of their weakness, had hitherto made every possible effort to conciliate the nabob; and as his chief ground of complaint respected the new fortifications which they were adding to Fort William, they suspended these works, and thus lost twenty precious days, during which they might have placed themselves in a posture of defence. As soon, however, as they learned the capture of the factory at Cossimbuzar, they gave up all hopes of accommodation, and thought only of increasing their means of resistance, which were very slender. The garrison did not muster above 514 men,

of whom only 174 were Europeans, and of these not ten had ever seen service beyond the parade; for even this duty had been enforced so negligently that many, according to Mr Holwell, did not know the right from the wrong end of their muskets. The fort, though of some extent, was defended by a wall only four feet thick, which in many parts, as at Cossimbuzar, enclosed chambers whence windows opened, and whose terraced roofs formed the top of the rampart. Around the fort were erected warehouses, clusters of buildings, and even little streets; some commanding the castle, others affording cover for the operations of an enemy. Under these circumstances the officers determined to draw their defensive line around the whole range of buildings, and endeavour to prevent the enemy from penetrating into them. This plan seems justly censured by Orme, since they had no force to defend so extensive a circuit pervaded by so many avenues. They ought to have demolished the houses round the fort; or, if time did not allow this operation, have removed at least the roofs and upper floors, while a few buildings, that were defensible and commanded the works, should have been occupied by strong bodies of troops, and a ditch and palisade then drawn round the whole. They might thus, in our authors opinion, have kept their ground till the annual fleet arrived, which would at least have secured their retreat. They importuned the French and Dutch, in this extremity, to make common cause against the Indian tyrant; but they only received from the former the insulting offer of shelter in Chandernagore.

Meantime the nabob marched upon Calcutta with such furious haste, that a number of his men

perished from strokes of the sun, or other accidents occasioned by excessive heat. Having left Cossimbuzar on the 9th June, 1756, he arrived on the 16th in view of Fort William. He was arrested for some time by the Mahratta ditch, not being aware that it extended round only part of the circuit. Having overcome this obstacle, the Indians, on the morning of the 18th, opened a general attack on the outposts, defended by three batteries, which were for some time vigorously served. The enemy, however, having kept up a brisk fire from under the bushes, and also penetrated through avenues which had not been secured, all the three batteries in the course of the day were abandoned, and the whole garrison sought refuge within the fragile walls of the fort. From this time the most sanguine lost almost every hope of a successful resistance; and yet no measures were taken for withdrawing the troops. At night, indeed, the women and children were conveyed on board a vessel, and two members of the council, who superintended the embarkation, thought it most prudent not to return. At two in the morning a council met, to deliberate whether they should immediately effect their escape, or delay it till next night. After much discussion, they broke up without any decision; which amounted practically to the adoption of the latter alternative. The attack was warmly renewed at daybreak, and the enemy continually gained ground. While affairs assumed every hour a more alarming aspect, the ship, on board of which were the women and children, was seen to weigh anchor and stand down the river, while the other vessels most culpably followed the example. The situation

of the garrison became then truly critical. Drake, the governor, who had all along been very inefficient as a commander, was seized with a panic, threw himself into the last remaining boat, and left his troops to their fate. Struck with astonishment and indignation, they chose Mr Holwell to fill his place; but all their concern now was how to effect their deliverance. One vessel being still within reach, was ordered to approach; but it struck on a sandbank, and was deserted by the crew. The most earnest and repeated signals were then made to the ships that had gone down to Govindpore; but it is very mortifying to state, that not one of them, to save so many brave men, chose to encounter the danger, which was by no means formidable, of approaching the walls of the fort. Mr Holwell then saw no alternative but to open a negotiation for surrender, and in the morning a letter was thrown over the ramparts, which was answered in the afternoon by a flag of truce. Meantime the troops, taking advantage of the confusion, had obtained access to the liquor, and were so intoxicated as to be incapable of action. The enemy, discovering how matters stood, stepped into the fort, and took possession of it without resistance.

The Indian army, in the first occupation of Fort William, did not commit any outrage; but when the nabob entered, accompanied by his general Meer Jaffier, he sent for Mr Holwell, and burst into violent reproaches at his having attempted to defend the place against the ruler of Bengal. He expressed also the most extreme dissatisfaction at finding in the treasury only the small sum of 50,000 rupees. Yet, after three interviews, he dismissed him with assurances, on the word of a soldier, that no harm

should be done to him. Mr Holwell then returned to his companions, and found them surrounded by a strong guard, who led them into a veranda, or arched gallery, constructed to shelter the soldiers from the sun and rain, but which excluded the chambers behind it from light and air. Some quarters of the fort being on fire, they were involved in so thick a smoke as inspired them with the apprehension that a design was formed to suffocate them; but the guard were merely looking out for a proper place of confinement. They pitched upon a chamber employed as the common dungeon of the garrison, called the *black hole;* it consisted of a space eighteen feet square, with only two small windows barred with iron, opening into the close veranda, and scarcely admitting a breath of air. Into this narrow receptacle, the whole of the officers and troops, 146 in number, were compelled to enter; and on their venturing to remonstrate, the commander ordered every one who should hesitate to be instantly cut down. Thus were they forcibly thrust into this fearful dungeon, into which the whole number could with difficulty be squeezed; the door was then fast barred from without. Their first impression, on finding themselves thus immured, was the utter impossibility of surviving one night, and the necessity of extricating themselves at whatever cost. The jemautdars, or Indian guards, were walking before the window, and Mr Holwell seeing one who bore on his face a more than usual expression of humanity, adjured him to procure for them room in which they could breathe, assuring him next morning of a reward of 1000 rupees. The man went away—but returned, saying it was im-

possible. The prisoners, thinking the offer had been too low, tendered 2000 rupees. The man again went,—and returned, saying that the nabob was asleep, and no one durst awake him. The lives of 146 men were nothing in comparison to disturbing for a moment the slumbers of a tyrant. Mr Holwell has described in detail the horrors of that fatal night, which are scarcely paralleled in the annals of human misery. Every moment added to their distress. All attempts to obtain relief by a change of posture, from the painful pressure to which it gave rise, only aggravated their sufferings. The air soon became pestilential, producing at every respiration a feeling of suffocation; the perspiration flowed in streams, and they were tormented with the most burning thirst. Unfortunately, the stations at or near the windows being decidedly the best, the most dreadful struggles were made to reach them. Many of the prisoners being common and foreign soldiers, exempt by this dreadful calamity from all subordination, made an intolerable pressure, and the sufferers, as they grew weaker, began to be squeezed or trampled to death. Loud cries being raised of "water!" the humane jemautdar pushed through the bars several skins filled with that liquid; but this produced only an increase of calamity, through the violent efforts made in order to obtain it. The soldiers without found a savage sport in witnessing these contests, and even brought lights to the windows in order to view them to greater advantage. About eleven, the prisoners began to die fast; six of Mr Holwell's intimate friends expired at his feet, and were trampled upon by the survivors. Of those still alive, a great proportion were

raving or delirious; some uttered incoherent prayers, others the most frightful blasphemies. They endeavoured by furious invectives to induce the guards to fire into the prison and end their miseries, but without effect. When day dawned the few who had not expired were most of them either raving or insensible. In this last state was Mr Holwell himself, when about six o'clock the nabob awoke and inquired for him. On learning the events of the night, he merely sent to ascertain if the English chief yet lived, and being informed that there were appearances as if he might recover, gave orders to open the fatal door. At that time, of the 146 who had been enclosed, there breathed only twenty-three. Mr Holwell, being revived by the fresh air, was immediately supported into the presence of the nabob, who, on his beginning the dismal tale, ordered for him a seat and a draught of water, but showed no other mark of sympathy. He immediately commenced a strict interrogatory about the supposed treasure, discrediting extremely the assertion of its non-existence. Being able, however, to learn nothing on this subject, he sent Mr Holwell, with three other gentlemen, prisoners to Muxadavad. In this voyage they suffered severely, their bodies being covered with boils, that had broken out in consequence of their confinement; to which, however, these eruptions were supposed to afford relief. The other survivors were liberated; while the dead bodies were, without any ceremony, thrown into a ditch.

Mr Holwell seems to be of opinion that the nabob had no actual intention of causing the dreadful catastrophe, but that some inferior officers had seized this opportunity of gratifying their revenge. The

utter insensibility displayed by him, however, seems to fix thoroughly upon that prince the guilt of this frightful transaction. We cannot concur with Mr Mill in throwing the blame upon the English themselves for using this apartment as a prison. The room, eighteen feet square, was not absolutely small, affording ample space for two or three, the greatest number probably whom they were accustomed to confine in it. The circumstance which rendered it fatal, was simply the enormous number thrust into an apartment wholly unfit to contain them.

All was lost in Bengal before the presidency at Madras were apprized that any thing was in danger. The fatal tidings arrived at an unseasonable moment, when the most brilliant prospects had just opened in the Deccan. Salabat Jung, after showing long the most extreme impatience under the thraldom in which he was held by the French, resolved at length upon an effort to extricate himself. Bussy was ordered to depart; and the subahdar, to secure his person against the resentment of the French, as well as the other evils from which their presence had protected him, requested from the English a subsidiary force, by sending which they would have supplanted their rivals as the arbiters of Southern India. The opportunity was tempting; but the crisis in Bengal was so urgent as made it indispensable to forego the advantage, though by their refusal they should compel the subahdar to solicit the return of Bussy, and throw himself again into the arms of the French.

All the force, naval and military, which could possibly be spared, was now despatched to Calcutta, under the command, the former of Admiral Watson,

and the latter of Colonel Clive, the main support of the British empire in India. This armament, with the exception of two ships, arrived in the middle of December at Fulta, a town at some distance below Calcutta, where the remnant of the English had taken refuge. Letters for the nabob were forthwith sent to Monickchund, governor of Calcutta; but they were conceived in so fierce and threatening a tone, that he declared he durst not transmit them. The English then determined without delay to commence hostilities. Admiral Watson moved the vessels up the river to the fort of Mayapore, which he proposed to attack on the following day. Little resistance being apprehended, Colonel Clive resolved to land and form an ambuscade, with a view to cut off the retreat of the garrison to Calcutta. He went on shore accordingly, and stationed his troops in a hollow space, where, being extremely fatigued, they grounded their arms and resigned themselves to sleep, without even the precaution of placing a sentinel. The consequence was, that they, instead of the enemy, were surprised. Monickchund, whose spies had informed him of their position, sent a large detachment, which made an unexpected attack in the night. Our countrymen suffered considerably before they could form their ranks; their two field-pieces fell into the hands of the enemy, who fortunately knew not how to use them, and they were afterwards recovered. Clive resolved not to retreat, lest his troops should be struck with panic; and when they were at length rallied and formed in order of battle, they quickly dispersed the undisciplined band of assailants.

Monickchund was so much discouraged by this

encounter that he quitted Calcutta, leaving it garrisoned by 500 men, who surrendered almost as soon as Admiral Watson had opened his batteries. The merchandise belonging to the Company was found entire, having been reserved for the use of the nabob. An expedition was also sent up to Hoogley; and that city, after a slight resistance, was taken and plundered.

Accounts were now received of war being declared between Britain and France; and hence there was reason to fear that the troops at Chandernagore would join the nabob; but, actuated by the most pacific spirit, they sent overtures for a treaty by which neutrality should be observed between the two nations in Bengal. The nabob, however, was advancing upon Calcutta, and Clive seems to have felt apprehensions respecting the designs of this potentate, scarcely justified by the amount of his own force, and his experience of an Indian army. He made proposals to the prince, who received them well, but did not discontinue his march; evidently considering the negotiation only as the means of lulling his opponent into false security. In the beginning of February, the nabob arrived with a large force, and began intrenching himself in front of Calcutta. Some skirmishes ensued, without any decisive result. Two gentlemen were sent as envoys to treat with him. He did not return an answer; but his conduct, on the whole, was decidedly hostile. The commissioners, being warned by a friendly Indian to take care of themselves, departed abruptly, and safely reached the head-quarters.

Clive having now formed his resolution, attacked next morning the Indian camp, with a force of 2150

men, 600 of whom were seamen. The enterprise does not seem to have been conducted with his usual spirit and ability. It issued in a confused rambling fight, in which the parties groped for each other through so thick a mist that the action consisted of little more than a series of casual encounters. The English, having been exposed to the fire of a strong battery, returned a good deal exhausted and dispirited. As they had repulsed, however, all the charges made by the enemy's cavalry, the nabob was also much disappointed; and there arose a disposition on both sides to listen to terms of accommodation. A treaty was adjusted, in which each gave up the main object for which he contended. The prince allowed the English to fortify Calcutta, to carry on trade, and enjoy their privileges as before the war; while, on their part, they dropped their high, though most just claims for redress and vengeance. There even followed an alliance offensive and defensive; after which the nabob led his army into the interior.

Colonel Clive was now anxious to attack the French settlement at Chandernagore,—a bad return for the moderate conduct observed by that nation. The nabob, when this design was mentioned to him, expressed strong aversion to it; but did not impose an absolute prohibition. The former made preparations for carrying his design into effect; but was now induced to delay by a positive interdict from his ally. Having afterwards, however, received a reinforcement, and learning that the Indian prince was under the alarm of an invasion from the Afghans, he determined to undertake the expedition at all hazards. He reached Chandernagore, and began the siege on the 14th March, 1757, and

on the first day drove in the outposts; but the place made a brave resistance; and message after message was sent by the nabob, ordering the English to cease hostilities. Nevertheless they still persevered; Admiral Watson came up with the ships, and began a heavy cannonade which, though briskly returned with considerable loss to the assailants, produced finally the surrender of the fort, and of all the garrison except a detachment that contrived to make their escape.

Complete success had crowned this undertaking; yet Clive soon felt the critical situation in which his very triumph had placed him. The nabob and the French were united against his interests; and though the latter were at present much humbled, they would doubtless soon receive reinforcements which, combined with the native powers, would probably enable them to expel their rivals, and gain a complete ascendency. This ought to have been seriously considered before he rejected their offer of neutrality, made seemingly with perfect good faith; but such a course was no longer possible. The daring genius of the commander saw no resource but to dethrone the nabob, and place on the throne of Bengal a new sovereign, who should owe his greatness to the English, and be entirely devoted to their cause. Yet to attack the whole force of Bengal, aided by the French troops, was an undertaking which even Clive scarcely dared to contemplate. He judged it necessary to pave the way by other and somewhat less honourable means. An oriental court, and especially one in the disorganized state in which those of India at that time were, usually presents the elements of treason. No regular law of succession was recognis-

ed; and there were understood to be in the nabob's camp several chiefs who were disgusted with his violent and haughty conduct, and at the same time ambitious of filling his place.

This ruler, after his last visit to Calcutta, had taken with him a small detachment of English under the direction of Mr Watts, who was now instructed to foment all the ingredients of discord in the Indian court and camp. His views being soon understood, overtures were made by a person named Yar Khan Latty, who proposed, with the aid of the British, to dethrone and to succeed the nabob, in which he assured them that he would be aided by the Seats, a family of native merchants and bankers possessed of immense wealth. These proposals were favourably listened to, till others of a similar tenor were received from Meer Jaffier, the most distinguished military character in the Bengal army. His co-operation was of so much greater importance, that no farther attention was paid to Latty. Clive hastened to Calcutta, and laid Jaffier's project before the committee in whom the affairs of government were then vested. They all agreed that the project was most politic, and ought to be followed up with alacrity. They next began to arrange the terms, which to one in Meer's situation they expected to be allowed to dictate. It was determined to demand the cession of all the French factories and effects, and the entire exclusion of that nation from Bengal; the grant of a considerable territory around Calcutta, with a pecuniary compensation for losses sustained, amounting to ten millions of rupees for the Company, five millions to the British inhabitants, 2,700,000 to the natives and Armenians. Two millions and a half were de-

manded for the army, and the same sum for the navy. One of the members of the committee chancing to ask why they should not claim something for themselves, his proposal obtained unanimous concurrence, and large sums were named for each, corresponding to their respective ranks. The most boundless and extravagant ideas prevailed in general respecting the wealth of Indian princes; wild reports had represented that of the nabob as amounting to forty-five millions sterling; and it was supposed certainly not to fall short of four millions and a half; though, as Mr Orme observes, the consideration that Aliverdi Khan had been employed during his whole reign in repelling a series of formidable invasions, might have proved even this last estimate to be very extravagant. When these demands, amounting to nearly three millions, were laid before Meer Jaffier, his minister Roydoolub declared it utterly impossible for the Bengal treasury to defray them; but as the English refused to make any abatement, and conciliated Roydoolub by high expectations, he at last adopted the Indian plan of promising every thing, leaving the performance to be regulated by circumstances. It may be mentioned as a characteristic feature in this negotiation, that Omichund, a native who had been let into the secret, threatened to make a disclosure unless his silence were purchased at an immense price. To defeat this manœuvre Clive caused two treaties to be drawn up, one real, which contained no stipulation whatever in favour of Omichund, the other prepared solely for the purpose of being shown to that personage, and comprising an agreement to pay him two millions of rupees. The

colonel having signed the latter, presented it to Admiral Watson, who honourably refused his signature; upon which his handwriting was counterfeited. The silence of Omichund was thus secured; but the discovery of the deceit afterwards drove him to a state of derangement. Infamous as his conduct was, the English commander certainly cannot be justified.

Clive having mustered his troops at Chandernagore, began his march on the 13th June, 1757, with 3100 men, of whom only 900 were Europeans; and with this force undertook to effect the subversion of a mighty kingdom. As he approached the encampment of the nabob at Plassey, near Cossimbuzar, unpleasant notices were received as to the conduct of Meer Jaffier, who having held frequent conferences with his master, had apparently accommodated all differences, and bound himself by the most solemn oaths to make common cause with him. He privately, indeed, transmitted assurances that these were only feints to lull the prince's suspicions; but, from his evidently keeping up the same appearances to both parties, there remained doubts which he really intended to betray. When Clive, therefore, arrived opposite the Island of Cossimbuzar, where he saw encamped the Indian army of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and a strong train of artillery, there was reason to pause. He called a council of war, —a measure which, it has been observed, almost invariably issues in a determination not to give battle. He opened the debate by expressing his own opinion against attacking the enemy under present circumstances. The other speakers concurred, with the exception of Major Coote, who argued that the troops, now full of courage and confidence, would

feel their spirits entirely damped by the proposed delay; that the enemy would soon obtain fresh reinforcements, more particularly a large detachment of French at present in the interior; in short, that there was no alternative, but either to attack now, or, renouncing all their ambitious projects, march back and shut themselves up within the walls of Calcutta. The opposite opinion was carried by a large majority; but Clive, after dismissing the council, took a walk in an adjoining grove, and after an hour's meditation became convinced that Coote had formed the soundest view of the subject. He therefore determined immediately to cross the river and commence an action with the Indian army.

The battle of Plassey, which virtually transferred to Britain the sceptre of India, began at daybreak on the 23d June, 1757. It was by no means fought with a vigour corresponding to the great interests at stake. The English, covered by a grove and a high bank, remained almost the whole day on the defensive, keeping up a straggling cannonade. At one time, indeed, several brisk movements were made by the enemy's cavalry, which were repulsed by the steady fire of the field-pieces; but so languidly did the contest proceed, that Colonel Clive is reported to have fallen asleep in the midst of it, which Mr Orme accounts for by the great fatigue he had undergone. The nabob, however, as cowardly as cruel, remained in his tent, and was much discouraged to learn that the English had not fled, and still more that Meer Murdeen, the best and most faithful of his generals, had fallen. The chief interest was felt respecting the course to be followed by Meer Jaffier, which remained for a long time mysterious; and his corps, even when it began to

make a movement towards the left, not being recognised by the English, was treated as hostile. Soon, however, it was seen decidedly to separate from the rest of the army, and Clive then determined to make an immediate and brisk attack upon the enemy's camp. His troops, in advancing to the lines, were surprised that not a single shot was fired. They entered, and still encountered no resistance; there was no army; not a vestige of that numerous host which the day before had been deemed irresistible. They met no obstruction, unless from the tents, baggage, and artillery, with which the space was incumbered. The nabob had been seized with panic, and when he learned the defection of Jaffier, gave up all for lost, mounted his fleetest elephant and fled, escorted by 2000 of his chosen cavalry.

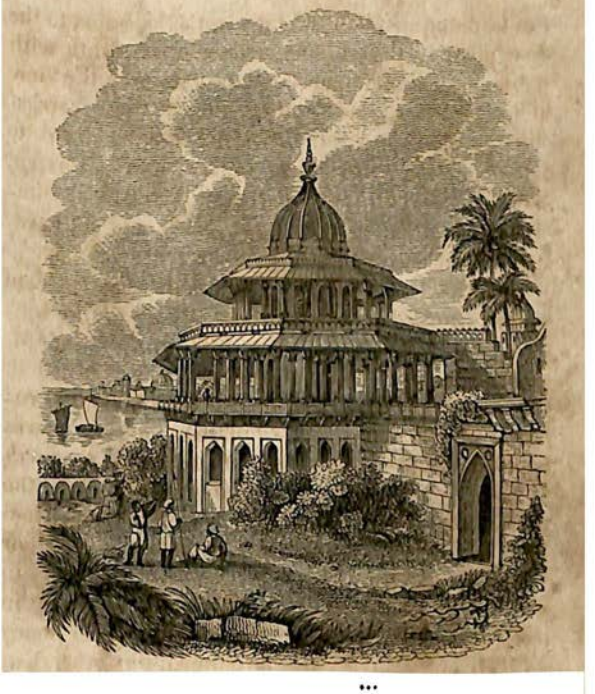
Next day an interview was appointed at Daudpore between the English commander and Meer Jaffier. The latter approached with evident symptoms of trepidation, dreading resentment on account of his cold and doubtful co-operation. On his entrance the guard, in sign of respect, presented arms, when, viewing this as a menacing attitude, he started back in alarm. Clive however advanced, and saluted him Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; after which entire cordiality prevailed during the conference, and measures were concerted for the pursuit of Surajah Dowlah. That prince had arrived at Daudpore about midnight after the battle; and several of his principal officers being already there, he assembled them in council. He rejected the advice urged by some, that he should surrender to the English; and concurred with those who recommended that he should give donations to the troops, and place himself next day at their head.

But when he returned to the seraglio, and learned the near approach of Meer Jaffier, his timid disposition gained the ascendency. He disguised himself in an humble garb, and, with his favourite eunuch and concubine, carrying a casket of his most precious jewels, embarked in a boat and endeavoured to push up the river to Patna, where, from the fidelity of the governor, he expected to be in safety. He arrived at Rajemahl, where the boatmen, overcome by fatigue, insisted on resting for the night, and the ex-nabob sought concealment in a deserted garden. In the morning, however, a man of low rank, whose ears in a fit of rage he had formerly caused to be cut off, discovered him, and made the report to a brother of Jaffier, who gave notice to the soldiers engaged in the pursuit. They hastened to seize their prey, and conveyed him down the river to Muxadavad, treating him on the passage with every species of indignity. The unhappy prince was dragged like a felon into the palace which he had so lately occupied in all the pomp of eastern royalty. Jaffier showed himself somewhat affected at this spectacle, not indeed without reason, having owed every thing to Aliverdi Khan, grandfather to Surajah, of whom also he had no serious ground to complain. He desired the captive prince to retire, and assembled his counsellors to deliberate on his fate. Some recommended clemency; others, among whom was his son Meeran, aged about seventeen, urged the cruel but safe expedient of putting him to instant death. The new nabob still hesitated, when the youth entreated him to go to bed and leave to him the care of the royal captive. He consented, not without an obvious presentiment of what would follow. Mee-

ran lost no time in sending a band of assassins to the apartment of the prisoner, who met his death with weak and pusillanimous lamentations; and the view of his remains, placed on an elephant and carried through the streets, induced the servile crowd to yield implicit submission to the new sovereign. Surajah Dowlah deserved his fate; yet its circumstances, and the persons by whom it was inflicted, rendered it an act of the basest treachery.

Meanwhile the English made all due haste to commence the important investigation into the contents of the Bengal treasury. The result, indeed, as Meer Jaffier's minister had intimated, issued in the most bitter disappointment. Of 22,000,000 rupees (£2,750,000), the stipulated amount, it was necessary to be content with the immediate payment of one-half; the nabob engaging to discharge the remainder by instalments, in proportion as he had time to collect his revenues. Even of this sum our countrymen were obliged to accept a third part in jewels and other effects; yet there was paid down in cash £800,000,—the largest sum of prize-money which they, or, it may be presumed, any other European nation had ever received in India.

Soon after, the government of Bengal was involved in peculiar difficulties. The distracted state of the province excited the hopes of the native princes, who expected that it would fall an easy prey. The eldest son of the Mogul, called the shazada, obtained from his father the investiture as Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and proceeded to establish his claim by arms. The force which he could command was exceedingly slender; but he was supported by two distinguished officers, now established nearly as independent rulers. One was the Nabob



of Oude, a fine province north of the Ganges, once the seat of a powerful empire. The other was the Subahdar of Allahabad, a fertile region along the same river, the capital of which, situated at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, is one of the largest and most venerated cities of the empire. Akbar made it a favourite residence, and erected at the angle of the currents the *Chalees Satoon*, a spacious fortress, which, having its gateways ornamented with domes and cupolas, exhibits one of the most striking

specimens of Indian architecture. The British have since added new defences, and chosen it as their chief military depot for the upper provinces. The interests of England, and the treaty with Meer Jaffier, alike impelled Clive to aid that prince in repelling this invasion. This conduct is branded by Mr Mill as "undisguised rebellion;" but when we consider that the power of the Mogul over all distant provinces had for a long time been quite nominal, and that prince merely a tool in the hands of others, who regarded his authority almost as little as Jaffier did, we cannot but view the subject somewhat differently. The English, having united their forces at Moorshedabad to those of the nabob, marched upon Patna, which was with difficulty defended by Ramnarain, one of his adherents. A very serious contest would now have ensued, had not the Indian chiefs, instead of forwarding the views of their master, begun to quarrel among themselves. The Nabob of Oude seized Allahabad, and the subahdar, having marched to its defence, was inveigled into the power of his enemy. The shazada was left without support in any quarter, and, as Mr Mill observes, "the descendant of so many illustrious sovereigns, and the undoubted heir of a throne once among the loftiest on the globe, was so bereft of friends and resources, that he was induced to write a letter to Clive, requesting a sum of money for his subsistence, and offering in requital to withdraw from the province." It was granted, on the condition of his presently evacuating the district; and the British commander was thus enabled, with remarkable ease, to bring this important affair to a happy termination.

Jaffier was so eager to testify his gratitude, that, notwithstanding his necessities, he bestowed upon Clive, in name of jaghire, the rent due by the Company for the territory round Calcutta. About this time the latter sent a force against the Circars, which obtained at least their nominal submission, and he also repulsed an attack made by the Dutch; after which he resigned the government in February, 1760, and sailed for England.

Meantime the interior was by no means tranquil. The young prince, who, on his father being put to death by the Mahrattas, succeeded to the almost empty title of Great Mogul, renewed his pretensions upon Bengal, and was again seconded by the Nabob of Oude, on whom he had conferred the still imposing rank of vizier. Their combined forces had advanced upon Patna, and gained a considerable advantage over the garrison, before Colonel Calliaud, now commanding the English army with the native troops under Meeran, Jaffier's son, could arrive to their aid. He made the attack on the 22d February, 1760; and though the Indian auxiliaries were rendered nearly useless by a very injudicious position, the British and sepoys alone poured in so effective a fire as drove the enemy off the field, and obliged them to retire to Bahar. Meeran, however, who had received a slight wound, re-entered Patna, and resigned himself to ease and pleasure. The opposite army then conceived the bold design of marching across the country by the shortest route to Moorshedabad, and surprising the nabob in his capital. It is believed, had this enterprise been as promptly executed as it was ably planned, that the object might have been accomplished; but the

chiefs indulged in the usual dilatory habits of an Indian army, and Calliaud had time, by rapidly conveying troops down the river, to reinforce his ally, and deter the enemy from the meditated attack. Returning hastily by the same route, they reached Patna before the English, and, aided by M. Law with a French force, reduced that city to great extremity. Captain Knox, however, marching above 200 miles under a burning sun in thirteen days, relieved it, attacked the enemy by surprise, and obliged them to fall back.

Meantime affairs in the province of Bengal continued in a most unsatisfactory state. Jaffier proved an indolent, voluptuous, tyrannical ruler; the country was neglected; and what was felt as a serious evil, the regular instalments to the English treasury still remained unpaid. Funds were thus wanting for the ordinary operations of government, the pay of the troops, and the supply of the other presidencies, who depended in this respect upon Bengal. On a full survey of these circumstances, the heads of the council formed the determination of supplanting Meer Jaffier, or at least of placing the real power in the hands of another. After much deliberation, it was resolved that his successor should be his own son-in-law, Meer Cossim, who alone appeared to possess the energy necessary to retrieve the sinking affairs of the country. Mr Vansittart repaired to Moorshedabad, and endeavoured to prevail upon the nabob to consent to an arrangement, by which he should retain the pomp and state of royalty, while the real power would be administered by Cossim; but Jaffier, though he felt it impossible to resist, proudly refused the mere shadow of power, and

preferred going to live as a private individual in Calcutta.

Meer Cossim applied himself with talent and vigour to the task of governing. By judicious arrangements, and by extracting money from the native chiefs, he succeeded in paying up the arrears due to our countrymen. Important circumstances soon called the allied powers to the frontier. The emperor, still aided in some degree by the sovereign of Oude, contrived to make harassing incursions into the nabob's territory. Major Carnac marched to its defence, and having soon brought the Mogul army to action, completely defeated it. The most remarkable event was the capture of M. Law, who, with a handful of French troops, had hitherto been the chief support of the native armies against the English. Deserted by his men, he bestrode one of the guns, and in that attitude awaited the approach of death. The Hindoos, strangers to any refined laws of war, were much surprised to see the British officers approach, courteously invite him to their camp, and treat him as an honoured and respected guest. The major, after the victory, sent overtures of accommodation, accompanied even with an offer to wait upon the emperor in his camp; and though these proposals were at first rejected, the prince, on mature reflection, not only received the English commander, but proceeded with him to Patna. He was there met by Meer Cossim, and a treaty was concluded, by which the latter was invested Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; in return for this he stipulated to pay the annual sum of twenty-four lacks of rupees, or three millions sterling. Some reason was even given to ex-

pect that the English might aid in restoring the prince to the imperial power; but the embarrassed state of the finances, and other circumstances now to be related, prevented any steps from being taken in fulfilment of this object.

The first measures of Meer Cossim's government were prudent and vigorous; and, had he been left to the exercise of independent power, he might have become a very good ruler. But he stood in a relation to his patrons, which a high-spirited prince could scarcely continue to brook. After having twice deposed and set up a nabob, they felt themselves, and were viewed by others, as the real masters of Bengal. Their most subordinate officers conceived that they were entitled to the obedience of the highest native authorities. This bad feeling was fomented by a party in the council hostile to the governor, who soon became the majority, and who, having been originally adverse to the elevation of Meer Cossim, delighted to thwart him in every possible manner. Mr Ellis, stationed with a detachment at Patna, was greatly influenced by these high notions, and omitted no occasion of annoying and insulting the nabob. The complaints of this ruler assumed a serious shape, in consequence of the privileges in regard to trade, which the English claimed in virtue of a former grant from the Mogul. They were thereby exempted from those heavy transit duties which, according to the impolitic system prevalent in India, were imposed on all goods passing up and down the river, and from city to city. This immunity, which gave to the British an immense advantage over the natives, was farther abused by affording the sanction of their name to agents, by whom the

regular merchants were entirely driven off the field. In consequence of the heavy complaints lodged by the nabob upon this subject, Mr Vansittart, at Monghir, concluded an agreement, according to which the same duties were to be paid by the Company's servants and by the country traders. This judicious arrangement, after the Indian prince had somewhat hastily begun to act upon it, was annulled by the majority of the council, and affairs were again thrown into their former confusion. The nabob then determined to end the controversy by abolishing at once all those inland duties,—a measure salutary in itself, but of which the English unreasonably and loudly complained, because it left no distinction between them and his own subjects. As the tide of discontent swelled, both parties began to assume a warlike attitude. The nabob busied himself in raising money, levying troops, and disciplining them in the European manner. Learning that some boats with military stores were proceeding up the Ganges to Patna, he ordered them to be detained; but soon after, feeling this to be a questionable step, he allowed them to proceed. No sooner, however, had Mr Ellis received news of the first detention than he resolved, agreeably to conditional instructions from the council, to attack the city of Patna, which, being ill-provided for defence, was quickly carried. Cossim Ali, on receiving intelligence of this violent measure, became furious, and thenceforth breathed nothing but war. He was, however, soon gratified, by learning that the victors, having resigned themselves to security and plunder, had been surprised by the late governor, driven from the city, and, in attempting to

escape up the river, had been all taken prisoners. The factory at Cossimbuzar, with its garrison, was also captured.

The English now again raised to power Meer Jaffier, whom the blind desire of governing induced to forget all his wrongs. At the same time Major Adams, who commanded the troops, was ordered to open the campaign with the utmost possible vigour. He found Meer Cossim better prepared for resistance than any Indian sovereign who had yet been encountered. The British had first to defeat a strong advanced guard in front of Moorshedabad, and afterwards to storm the lines constructed for the defence of that city. Continuing to press forward, they found the subahdar with his whole force drawn up in the Plain of Geriah. The troops presented the aspect of a European army; being brigaded, clothed, and accoutred in the English style, and supported by a fine train of artillery. Their number did not exceed 20,000 horse and 8000 foot; but to this Major Adams had to oppose only 3000. The enemy withstood the attack four hours with great intrepidity; they even during that time surrounded and broke a part of his line, and captured two pieces of cannon. But at length, the steady and disciplined valour of the assailants carried every thing before it; and the enemy fled, abandoning all their artillery and provisions. The Indian prince, however, retired to an intrenched camp on the Oodwa, so strongly enclosed between the river, the mountains, and a swamp, that its reduction detained the army nearly a whole month. In the end it was surprised and carried; after which Cossim Ali never again attempted to face his enemy in the field.

Major Adams immediately marched and laid siege to Monghir, which the subahdar had made his capital, and carefully fortified. After nine days of open trenches the place capitulated, which threw the Indian chief into the most dreadful paroxysm of rage. He sent notice, that the moment the English force should advance upon Patna, he would avenge himself by putting to death the whole garrison who had been taken in that city. Major Adams, much distressed by this threat, addressed a letter to the prisoners, entreating them to suggest some expedient by which their release might be effected. Ellis and Hay, however, with a truly Roman spirit, answered, that there was no hope of escape,—that they were resigned to their fate,—and entreated that the march of the army should not be suspended on their account for a single moment. Vansittart wrote to Meer Cossim, at once deprecating his intended cruelty and threatening the most signal vengeance; but as soon as the army began to move, the tyrant fulfilled to the utmost his bloody threat. The whole garrison of Patna, consisting of 50 gentlemen and 100 soldiers, were put to death, with the single exception of Mr Fullerton, who was spared on account of his medical skill. The nabob killed also the two Seats, the most opulent and distinguished native inhabitants of Bengal, solely for their suspected attachment to the English. By these barbarities he forfeited the interest which his vigorous conduct and hard treatment would otherwise have excited.

The nabob's only hope henceforth rested on Patna, which was soon after invested. He reinforced the garrison with 10,000 men, and supported the defence by strong bodies of irregular cavalry.

The resistance was vigorous; the garrison took one of the English batteries, and blew up their magazine; yet in eight days a breach was effected, and the place was taken by storm. Cossim Ali then gave up all for lost, and fled into the country of Oude to implore the aid and protection of the subahdar, Sujah Dowlah. That prince had then a still more illustrious refugee, in the individual who by legitimate descent bore the mighty name of the Great Mogul. At this court the fugitive viceroy was well received, and Sujah Dowlah, probably with a view to his own aggrandizement, undertook to support his cause; after which these three distinguished princes marched with their united force to attack the British army. It happened then to be very ill-prepared to sustain so formidable an encounter. The troops, composed in a great measure of foreigners and sepoys, complained that, after such a series of brilliant victories, they were left not only without reward, but suffering severely from the climate and scarcity of provisions. Their discontents broke forth into open mutiny, and numbers even separated from the main body. Major Carnac, who in these circumstances assumed the command, did not feel himself in a condition to undertake offensive operations, but waited the attack in his camp near Patna. The soldiers, when engaged in battle, forgot their mutinous propensities, and behaved with the utmost steadiness. After a protracted conflict, they completely repulsed the enemy, though from extreme fatigue they were unfit for any lengthened pursuit. Sujah Dowlah was obliged to retreat into Oude, whither the English commander did not attempt to follow him.

In May 1764 the command devolved upon Major Hector Monro, an enterprising officer, who determined to follow up the advantages gained by his predecessors. It appeared indispensable, however, to begin by completely checking the spirit of insubordination, and to employ for this purpose measures of imposing rigour. A battalion of sepoys having left the camp, soon after this commander's arrival, was pursued and brought back; when, selecting twenty-four of the ringleaders, he ordered them to be blown from the mouth of a cannon,—a fate which they met with intrepidity. No disposition to mutiny was thenceforth manifested. Monro then marched against Sujah Dowlah, whom he found strongly intrenched at Buxar on the Soane. The difficulty of attacking the enemy in this position was obviated by their advancing against the British at eight in the morning of the 23d October; when, after a combat of three hours, they were defeated. They made their retreat, however, without being pursued to any great distance, only losing a great quantity of stores, and 130 pieces of artillery. The emperor had already made overtures to Major Carnac, which that officer did not think himself authorized to accept; these he now renewed, complaining that Sujah Dowlah treated him with indignity, and detained him as a mere state-prisoner. Major Monro gave a favourable answer, and only delayed the final acceptance of his proposals, till they should receive the sanction of the presidency, which was readily granted. Even before it arrived, the Mogul had come over with the corps personally attached to him, and begun to march under the banner of his allies.

Sujah Dowlah, having retreated into the interior

of his dominions, obtained the aid of a body of Mahrattas under Mulhar Rao, and of Ghazee-ud-Dien, who, as we have seen, were once the most powerful adherents of the Mogul throne. With these auxiliaries he hoped to make a stand against the victorious English. Sir Robert Fletcher, however, who held the temporary command, laid siege to Allahabad, which surrendered as soon as a breach had been effected. Major, now General Carnac, who then succeeded, advanced immediately to attack the army of the vizier, which, with scarcely an effort, was completely dispersed; whereupon that prince was obliged to abandon all his dominions.

The British had now certainly made one of the most splendid campaigns which occur in the annals of any nation. They had gained five victories against much superior forces; they had reduced every strong place which attempted to oppose them; they had vanquished the Mogul emperor and all his principal feudatories; and in short, had made themselves the virtual masters of the great central plain of India. Various opinions, however, prevailed as to the best mode of improving these important triumphs.

Meer Jaffier had died, partly it should seem of vexation at not having been able to meet the enormous pecuniary demands of the English rulers. The council, after some hesitation, filled his place with his son, Nujeem-ul-Dowlah, a youth of twenty, whom they reduced, however, to a much more dependent situation than his predecessors. They took upon themselves the whole defence of the province, and consequently kept in their hands the entire military force; assuming, at the same time, an extensive control over the internal administration.

Meantime the Directors at home, amid the triumphs which had crowned their arms, felt considerable uneasiness respecting the state of their Indian possessions. They were alarmed by the successive quarrels with Meer Jaffier and Cossim Ali, by the extensive wars in which they were involved, and by the rapacious and irregular conduct of their servants, civil and military. This last evil they imputed in a great measure to the profusion and corruption which pervaded every department. A statesman of comprehensive views and vigorous character seemed wanting to place their affairs in the East on a stable and tranquil footing, as well as to introduce order and regularity into the various branches of so extended an administration. With this view, their attention was directed to the same person who had been the real founder of their dominions; and Lord Clive, about three years after his return, was nominated a second time to the supreme command of the British provinces in India.

His lordship arrived at Calcutta early in the year 1765;—but we shall reserve till another occasion our notice of his internal regulations, and proceed at present to record those measures by which he achieved the farther extension of the Company's territory. Sujah Dowlah, though defeated in successive battles, and driven even beyond his frontier, still possessed energy and resources. Having collected his scattered troops, and obtained a reinforcement from the Mahrattas, he formed an army with which he again ventured to face Major Carnac. At Calpy however he was completely routed, and compelled to fly precipitately with great loss across the Jumna. Considering his cause as altogether

desperate, he repaired to the camp of the English, and threw himself entirely upon their mercy. He had been strongly urged, and high offers were even made to induce him to bring with him Cossim Ali; but a deep sense of honour, not usual in an eastern potentate, determined him not to betray a person who had sought and received his protection. He allowed him, and a German, Sumroo, his associate in the work of blood, to seek shelter in the countries bordering on the Indus. Thus Carnac had at once in his camp two princes holding the highest rank in India, and the direct representatives of an empire lately the most splendid and powerful in the world.

Lord Clive, on receiving this intelligence, immediately repaired to the British encampment at Allahabad, where these two illustrious personages awaited his decision upon their fate. It had been determined, in consequence of the obstinate hostility displayed by Sujah Dowlah, to deprive him of his territories and bestow them on the emperor. But his lordship, on personal acquaintance, conceived so favourable an opinion of the former, and judged him likely to be so much more effective as an ally and formidable as an enemy than the young Mogul, that he determined to restore him to his dominions, by whose inhabitants he was greatly beloved. To the emperor, the districts of Corah and Allahabad were assigned; and he agreed, that is, was compelled, to grant to the Company the dewannee or collection of the revenue, including in fact the entire sovereignty, in the fine provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; in return for which he was to receive annually twenty-six lacks of rupees. Soon after, Nujeem-ul-Dowlah, the nominal subahdar of these provinces,

was obliged to retire on a pension of forty-two lacks. Lord Clive then boasted, that the revenues of the ceded territory would exceed 250 lacks of rupees, which, after the above deductions and the liberal allowance of 60 lacks for the expenses of government, would leave 122 lacks of clear gain to the Company. These financial anticipations were very imperfectly realized; but it was difficult for England not to be dazzled with this splendid series of victory, by which her possessions, which ten years before had included only an almost defenceless fort at the mouth of the Ganges, now extended over all the finest portion of that vast region. The most valuable part of the great central plain of India, westward as far as the Jumna, was either in the immediate possession or under the entire control of the British nation.

CHAPTER II.

War with Mysore.

Formation of the Kingdom of Mysore—Influence of the Ministers Deoraj and Nunjeraj—Hyder—His Parentage—His early Destitution—Begins to distinguish Himself—Mode in which he forms a Body of Adherents—Commands at Dindigul—His Power augmented—Violence of Nunjeraj, who is reduced to Distress—Hyder relieves and then supplants Him—His own Danger—Extricates himself, and becomes complete master of Mysore—Conquest of Bednore—Invasion by the Mahrattas—Conquest of Calicut—The English join a Confederacy against him—The Mahrattas make Peace—Nizam joins Hyder against the English—They invade the Carnatic—Threaten Madras—Battle of Trinomalee—Nizam quits the Alliance—Invasion of Mysore—Successes of Hyder—He overruns the Carnatic—Again threatens Madras—Conclusion of Peace—Another great Inroad of the Mahrattas—Hyder concludes a Treaty with them, and makes farther Conquests—His Resentment against the English—Weak Conduct of the Madras Government—Hyder invades and desolates the Carnatic—Fate of Colonel Baillie's Detachment—Sir Eyre Coote sent from Calcutta—He gains several Advantages—Loss of Colonel Brathwaite's Detachment—Negotiations—Operations on the Western Coast—Death of Hyder—Tippoo succeeds—Dissensions in the Madras Government—Death of Sir Eyre Coote—Peace between England and France—Bednore surrenders to General Mathews—Retaken by the Sultan—Siege of Mangalore—Peace with Tippoo.

In the general breaking up of the Mogul empire and its great viceroyalties, India was reduced almost to a state of anarchy. Any bold adventurer, who could summon round him the warlike and predatory bands with which that region abounded, might

aspire to rule over extensive districts, several of which were entitled to the rank of kingdoms. Among such communities a conspicuous place was held by Mysore, the territory of which forms one of the most remarkable of those elevated table-lands that diversify the southern provinces. It extends more than half-way from sea to sea, closely approaching the Malabar coast on one side, and on the other reaching to the border of the Carnatic. A circuit of lofty hills, forming a barrier round the country, raise its general surface to the height of almost 3000 feet; a happy circumstance, which secures for it a climate unusually temperate and salubrious. The soil, for the most part, is well suited for producing the most valuable grains and fruits, and by a rude but careful cultivation is rendered extremely fertile. This kingdom, under the direction of a daring soldier, rose to such power as to threaten the very existence of the British dominion in the East.

Mysore, down to a recent period, had not been entirely subjected to the Mohammedan sway; it was still ruled by native princes, who paid homage, and sometimes tribute, first to the kings of the Deccan, and after their fall to the Mogul. In the decline of the empire both homage and tribute were withheld, unless when the viceroy could assemble a force sufficiently strong to overawe the sovereign and wrest payment from him. This independence, however, was of little avail to the original rajahs, who, sinking, according to the custom of oriental princes, into voluptuous indolence, allowed the government to pass almost entirely into the hands of their ministers. When the war in the Carnatic first led the English into hostility with Mysore, two brothers,

Deoraj and Nunjeraj, of whom the latter was the more vigorous and influential, had risen to the head of affairs. At this time, however, there was coming into notice a young adventurer, destined to effect a complete revolution in this country, and in all Southern India.

Colonel Wilks, from native authorities, has given an account of the origin of *Hyder* with a degree of minuteness which it is unnecessary for us to follow. His family appears to have sprung from the northern territory of the Punjaub; they were of low station, and so poor, as in some instances to subsist upon alms. Futtee Mohammed, the father, however, though reared by a charitable hand, entered the army of a Mysorean chief, and having served with distinction was raised to the rank of a *Naik*—officer of peons or foot-soldiers. A lady of some quality, whose husband had been robbed and murdered by banditti, being reduced to the utmost want, was prevailed upon to give her two daughters successively in marriage to this adventurer. By the youngest he had two sons, Shabaz and Hyder; but, when they had attained only the respective ages of nine and seven, their father and the prince his master were killed in battle. The mother and her boys then fell into the power of a rapacious chief, who not only plundered all the property he could find, but employed the most cruel torture to make them yield up their hidden possessions. The widow of Futtee Mohammed, having "lost every thing but her children and her honour," found refuge with her brother Ibrahim, by whose bounty the family were supported. Hyder, accordingly, had his fortune entirely to make; and for some time he gave but slender promise of achieving

any high advancement. He did not even learn to read or write; and, on arriving at manhood, he spent his whole time, either in voluptuous riot or in the pleasures of the chase. Thus he reached the age of twenty-seven before he would submit to the restraints even of military service. His elder brother, meantime, had been more meritoriously employed in the army of Nunjeraj, where he distinguished himself, and was raised to a small command. Hyder was at last induced to join him while employed in the siege of a fortress called Deonhully, which occupied nine months. The youth, having once embarked in this active career, soon displayed daring valour, presence of mind, and all the qualities which constitute an eminent warrior. He received the charge of a small corps, with a commission to increase its numbers by all the means in his power.

At this time Nunjeraj, having formed an alliance with the French, undertook the expedition to Trichinopoly, of which some account has been already given. Hyder accompanied him, and made diligent use of the opportunities which this campaign afforded, both to distinguish and advance himself. He soon assembled round him a numerous body of those freebooters with which India swarmed, who asked no pay, but trusted solely to the plunder that they might collect under the auspices of an active chieftain. Instead of his paying them they paid him; being required to contribute one-half of all the booty which they might succeed in capturing. They were doubtless very much disposed to evade this partition; but Hyder, though he could not write the numerals, boasted of an almost unequalled expertness in the

operations of mental arithmetic; and he was assisted by Kunde Row, a Braminical accountant of remarkable skill. They established a system, which the operative plunderers found it nearly vain to attempt eluding. The practices of a common London thief may be considered just and honourable, compared with those by which Hyder rose to the rank of an Indian monarch. Not only the great and regular objects of pillage, such as convoys of grain, horses, or herds of cattle, but clothes, turbans, earrings, the most trifling ornaments taken from the persons of females, and even of children, were alike welcome. Friends were not distinguished from foes, provided the theft could be executed with secrecy. By these means, Hyder, before he left Trichinopoly, had collected 1500 horse, 5000 infantry, with elephants, camels, and all the other appendages of a chief of high rank. Having distinguished himself also by his military services, he continued in great favour, and was appointed Foujedar of Dindigul, an important place recently acquired in the country of the Polygars. Here he enlarged his forces and increased his wealth, not only by the plunder of the surrounding territories, but by the most scandalous impositions practised on his own sovereign, as well as on the commissioners sent to inquire into his conduct. He managed to bring his troops to what was called a *circular* muster, in which ten thousand men counted as 18,000; thereby obtaining pay for a fictitious number, and also at a rate much above his actual expenditure. Having an allowance for every wounded soldier, he imposed on the inspector by presenting many who were perfectly sound, but had their hands and feet tied with bandages dipt in turmeric. By these gross frauds

and deceptions, he completely deluded Nunjeraj, who thought it wonderful that so great a force could be maintained, and the war successfully carried on against the Polygars, at an expense so moderate.

Hyder had now collected so much strength both of arms and treasure, and had acquired so high a reputation, that he began to aim at the throne of Mysore. His views were greatly favoured by the violent dissensions which prevailed at court. The young rajah, whom Nunjeraj kept as a convenient tool, determined to make an effort to extricate himself from this thraldom, and had already secured the support of a large body of adherents. But having made a premature display of his designs, the palace which he had fortified was attacked and easily carried. The minister, after this victory, treated the rajah himself with a mockery of respect, but caused his supporters to be either thrown into chains, or, having their noses and ears cut off, to be thrust out into the street. Deoraj, indignant at this cruelty, abandoned his interests, and went to reside in a different quarter of the country.

Nunjeraj himself was soon exposed to an exigency to which an Indian prince is almost always liable. His troops began to clamour for a large amount of arrears, and, obtaining no satisfaction, proceeded to the expedient of seating themselves in *dherna* at his gate. According to this institution, which in India is held sacred, he could neither taste food nor drink while the claimants remained in this position; and the soldiers, occupying the entrance of the palace, took care that this rule should be strictly observed. In this extremity Hyder gladly took occasion to interpose his services. He repaired

to Seringapatam, and by seizing all public property within his reach, as well as judiciously collecting the sums due to government, obtained as much money as satisfied the immediate claims of the military. He had also effected an accommodation between the two brothers, which Deoraj, however, did not long survive. Thus Hyder became extremely popular, appearing as a general friend to all parties. Having raised a large force of his own, and attached to his views the army of Nunjeraj by his exertions for their relief, he soon felt himself to be the real master. His influence was greatly increased by the occurrence of a formidable invasion on the part of the Mahrattas, when, being appointed to the chief command, he brought the contest to an issue, not triumphant indeed, but much more favourable than had been anticipated. He now determined to make his way to the supreme power on the ruin of that chief through whose kindness he had risen to his present elevation. Kunde Row, who had all along been his agent and partisan, opened through the medium of a dowager princess, a woman of talent, a negotiation with the rajah, who, with the view of being enabled to resume the real authority in his own kingdom, agreed to concur in the removal of Nunjeraj. Circumstances favoured their designs. A fresh arrear of pay having accumulated, the troops again established themselves in *dherna* before his gate; when Hyder, instead of studying as before to appease their discontent and relieve his patron's distress, sought only to foment the one and aggravate the other. Nay, with a semblance of grief and reluctance, he concurred with them in assuming the position of *dherna*. Nunjeraj, thus pressed, at length

agreed to retire with a liberal allowance of treasure and troops, and leave the field open for his rival. The rajah having assumed the government, intrusting the whole administration, civil and military, to Hyder and Kunde Row. It was not likely that the deposed viceroy should remain long satisfied with his altered condition. Retiring to the city of Mysore, only nine miles distant from the capital, he recruited his forces with the utmost diligence. A demand was hereupon made, that he should discharge his troops, remove to a greater distance, and be content with a fixed allowance for his private expenses. He indignantly wrote in answer to Hyder:—"I have made you what you are, and now you refuse me a place in which to hide my head. Do what you please; or what you can. I move not from Mysore." The new minister immediately proceeded to besiege that city, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered; and Nunjeraj was obliged to accept the hard conditions imposed by the victor.

Hyder seemed now at the height of power; yet he was soon after involved in the most serious peril he had ever encountered. The rajah and the dowager were not long in discovering, what indeed they could scarcely fail to foresee, that by this change of affairs they had merely substituted one sovereign minister for another, and were as destitute as ever of any real power. They gained over Kunde Row, who then watched in conjunction with them the opportunity of striking a blow against the man of whom he had been so long the devoted adherent. It occurred sooner than might have been expected with one so vigilant and so versant in all the intricacies of treason. Hyder, suspecting nothing,

had dispersed his forces in different directions, and lay encamped with a handful of troops under the walls of Seringapatam. Suddenly, with amazement and consternation, he saw its batteries begin to play upon him; he called for Kunde Row, his resource in every difficulty, but that person was seen on the ramparts directing the operations of the artillery. Hyder, perceiving the snare into which he had fallen, summoned all his presence of mind in this desperate extremity. Having placed his men under the best shelter that could be obtained, he transmitted the most humble overtures and supplications to his former servant, now his successful rival; but could obtain no other terms than to be allowed to steal off in the night with a few soldiers, leaving behind him nearly all his treasures, the accumulated fruit of so much crime and extortion, and even his family, among whom was his son Tippoo, then nine years old. These last, however, were received into Seringapatam, and treated with kindness.

The expelled chief sought refuge first at Anicul and then at Bangalore, places under his immediate command, and of which the governors proved faithful even in this extremity. He soon collected his forces, called in his detachments, and endeavoured, by the reputation of his name, to attract fresh adventurers to his standard. Thus in a few months he took the field against Kunde Row; but that able chief, having still a superior army, brought on a general action, in which Hyder was defeated. His affairs being thus rendered nearly desperate, he had recourse for relief to a very singular quarter. With two hundred horse he hastened during the night to the residence of Nunjeraj, presented himself in

a suppliant posture, confessed his guilt and ingratitude, and intreated his former patron to resume his place, and treat him again as a servant. All historians express astonishment that the fallen minister should have been won over by protestations so manifestly insincere; but we are to consider, that by closing with this proposal he obtained perhaps the only chance of regaining his power and dignity.

Upon this successful stratagem Hyder founded another still deeper. He affixed the seal of Nunjeraj to a number of letters, seeming to contain a treasonable correspondence, addressed to the principal officers in Kunde Row's army. They were sent by an emissary, who appeared to exercise the strictest vigilance lest they should fall into the hands of that chief, yet took effectual means that they should be intercepted. Kunde Row, with all his experience and profound policy, was completely deceived; and seeing himself, as he imagined, betrayed by his followers, he abruptly quitted the camp and hastened to Seringapatam. The army was thus thrown into a state of complete disorganization, when Hyder, attacking them unexpectedly, put them to a total rout, capturing guns, stores, baggage, and all the infantry, who were then incorporated with his own troops; the cavalry alone by early flight effected their escape. Kunde Row discovered the deceit, and soon began to rally his men, when his antagonist had recourse to another artifice. He lay for some days in apparent inactivity, as if he did not intend to follow up his victory; then suddenly, by a night-march, came on his opponents by surprise, and gained another signal advantage. After reducing many of the surrounding places, he ap-

proached the remaining force of 5000 or 6000 cavalry intrenched under the guns of Seringapatam. By entering into a feigned treaty he lulled anew the suspicions of his adversaries, who suffered themselves to be again completely surprised, with nearly the entire loss of their horses and baggage. All Hyder's enemies were now at his mercy; still he wished that the terms which he meant to exact should appear as if offered and pressed upon him by the vanquished rajah. He sent a message, merely soliciting that Kunde Row, his servant, should be delivered up, and the large balance due to himself from the state be liquidated; the rajah might then either continue him in his service, or allow him to seek his fortune elsewhere. He privately transmitted, however, an intimation as to what he would be pleased to accept; and accordingly, under the impulse of necessity, the rajah was at length compelled to entreat the victor to relieve him from the toil of governing Mysore, and for that purpose to draw all its revenues, except three lacks for his own use and one for Nunjeraj; to which conditions the victor, with well-feigned reluctance, submitted. The rajah and the ladies of the palace joined in earnest entreaty for mercy to Kunde Row. Hyder replied, that he would treat him like a paroquet, by which they understood a favourite or pet; but he literally and cruelly fulfilled his promise, by enclosing the unhappy man for life in an iron cage, and sending him a daily portion of rice and milk. It is needless to add, that the lack of rupees was all that Nunjeraj obtained of the promises lavished upon him at the period of negotiation.

Hyder, having thus become the real sovereign of

Mysore, applied himself to extend his sway in every direction. He made himself master of Sera, Chittledroog, and other districts properly included in that country; but whose rajahs and polygars, during the late troublous period, had rendered themselves in a great measure independent. His richest prize, however, was afforded by the conquest of Bednore, a territory situated on the loftiest crest of the Ghauts, 5000 feet above the level of the sea, where the profuse rains nourish magnificent forests and copious harvests. Its sequestered position hitherto preserved it from invasion, and the sovereigns had applied themselves most diligently to that grandest object in India, the accumulation of treasure. On the approach of the Mysorean army, the timid inhabitants of the capital, after setting fire to the palace, fled into the adjoining woods, leaving a splendid city eight miles in circumference entirely open to plunder. Wilks estimates the booty, we suspect with much exaggeration, at twelve millions sterling; but Hyder, it is said, always owned that its capture was the main instrument of his future greatness.

But this successful career soon met with an interruption. Madoo Rao, the principal general among the Mahrattas, entered Mysore with an immense host of irregular cavalry. They covered the face of the country, and so completely cut off all communication, that even the vigilant Hyder was surprised by the appearance of their main body, when he imagined them to be still at a distance. He was defeated, and after several unsuccessful attempts, during a campaign of some length, to retrieve his affairs, was compelled to purchase peace by extensive cessions, and the payment of thirty-two lacks of

rupees. That tumultuary horde then retired, and left him at liberty to pursue his farther acquisitions. He directed his arms against Calicut, still ruled by a sovereign entitled the zamorin, and esteemed the principal maritime city of that coast. Its troops opposed him with the same desultory but harassing warfare by which they had baffled the attack of Albuquerque. The Mysorean ruler, however, forced his way through these obstacles and approached the capital, when the zamorin, despairing of being able to prolong the resistance, came out with his ministers and endeavoured to negotiate a treaty. He was favourably received, and on his offering payment to the amount of £190,000 sterling, the invader agreed to abstain from farther aggression. But this did not prevent him from attacking and carrying Calicut by surprise; and, as the money was produced very slowly, he sought to hasten payment by placing the sovereign and his nobles under close confinement, and even by applying torture to the latter. The prince, dreading that he would be exposed to a similar indignity, shut and barricaded the doors of the house in which he was confined, set fire to it, and before the flames could be extinguished, he had perished. Several of his attendants are said to have thrown themselves into the burning mansion, and suffered the same fate. A conquest achieved by such deeds of violence soon excited a fierce rebellion, which was suppressed only by severe executions, and by the transportation of a great number of the people to a remote quarter of the Mysorean dominions.

These rapid successes, and the additional resources derived from them, alarmed the great powers of

Southern India. Nizam Ali, Subahdar of the Deccan, and Madoo Rao, the Mahratta commander, united in a confederacy to crush the assailant; and the English agreed to place an auxiliary force at the disposal of the former, with the vague commission "to settle the affairs of his government in every thing that is right and proper." It was distinctly understood, that they were to co-operate in the invasion of Mysore; and Colonel Smith proceeded to Hydrabad to arrange measures for that purpose. This seems to have been a very doubtful policy, when the Mahrattas alone were fully equal to contend with Hyder; so that the two parties might have been advantageously left to weaken each other by mutual warfare; whereas the aggrandizement of one by the downfal of the other tended directly to overthrow the balance of power.

The three allied armies began to move early in 1767, but in a straggling and ill-combined manner. A month before the two others Madoo Rao had covered with clouds of cavalry the high plains of Mysore. His force alone was more than Hyder dared to encounter in the field. The latter endeavoured to pursue a desultory mode of defence, causing the grain to be buried, the wells to be poisoned, the forage to be consumed, and the cattle to be driven away. Every expedient proved unavailing to stop the progress of these rapid and skilful marauders: their horses fed on the roots of grass; by thrusting iron rods into the earth they discovered from the sound, the resistance, and even from the smell, the places where grain was deposited; while the cattle, to whatever spot they could be removed, were traced out and seized. The Mysorean leader, finding

them already in the heart of his dominions, where he had no means of arresting their progress, determined at any price to detach them from the confederacy. Apajee Ram, a Bramin, was sent, and opened a negotiation in a style much differing from European diplomacy. He was received in full durbar by the Mahratta general, who declared his determination not to treat with an opponent who held his legitimate prince in such unworthy captivity; and a murmur of approbation ran through the assembly. The envoy humbly confessed the charge, only adding, that his master, whenever an opposite example was set by his betters, would immediately follow it. Every one now recollected that Madoo Rao held the descendant of Sevajee in exactly the same thraldom as the Mysorean rajah was kept by Hyder; the approving sound was changed into suppressed laughter; the Mahratta chief hung down his head; and a serious negotiation was immediately commenced. He consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacks of rupees, to quit the country and withdraw entirely from the grand alliance. He had gained his end; and when Colonel Tod was sent to urge him to fulfil his engagements, the whole court laughed in that officer's face.

Colonel Smith, meantime, supported only by the poor, ill-paid, and undisciplined troops of the nizam, had entered Mysore. He soon began to suspect that this would prove a very futile expedition; and it was in fact about to assume a character much more disastrous than he anticipated. His Indian ally had taken umbrage on various grounds at the English presidency. They had procured from the Mogul, now a merely nominal potentate, the grant of the

valuable territory of the Northern Circars. Mohammed Ali, their ally, whom they had raised to be Nabob of the Carnatic, had meantime advanced pretensions to the dominions and rank of the nizam, which the latter suspected the British of secretly favouring. Hyder therefore employed Maphuz Khan, brother to that chief, who, actuated by the fraternal jealousies usually prevalent in India, had come over to the Mysorean interest, to open a secret correspondence with the nizam. This last was easily persuaded, that he should most successfully realize his views of aggrandizement by entering into a league with Hyder against Mohammed and that foreign power, of which he was rendering himself the instrument; and accordingly these two parties, who were so lately vowing each other's destruction, united in an offensive treaty against the English. Colonel Smith, both from his own observation and from notices given by his faithful ally, soon obtained a clear perception of this change in the position of affairs. It bore rather a serious aspect, considering the distance to which he had advanced into the Mysore territory; but on his remonstrances Nizam Ali concurred in the propriety of his retreat, only desiring that a corps of three battalions should remain with him,—a request which was very unaccountably complied with. Yet the Indian prince, on this occasion, displayed honourable feelings very unusual with his countrymen of the same class. Before commencing hostilities he allowed the whole detachment to depart, except five companies, and afterwards these also, without the least molestation.

Colonel Smith, seeing himself now threatened by the united attack of these two great powers, with

an army of 43,000 horse and 28,000 foot, while he himself had only 6000 foot and 1000 horse, limited his efforts to fortifying the passes of the Ghauts by which they might be expected to descend into the Carnatic; but, from ignorance of the local positions, he left undefended those very openings which were the most favourable for their purpose. Through these they easily penetrated, and, threatening the rear of the English, obliged them instantly to retire. The confederates attacked him near Changama, but were completely repulsed; though, in consequence of their horsemen having plundered the slender store of rice belonging to his army, this victory was converted almost into a defeat, and he was obliged to retreat day and night till he reached Trinomalee. The war now assumed a distressing character. The British officer had his force raised to ten thousand, for the most part regular infantry, which gave him a superiority in the field; but his cavalry were few and inefficient, while the enemy covered all the country with the finest light-horse in the world, which cut off all his supplies, and left him no command over any spot beyond that on which he was actually encamped. At the same time Tippoo, son to Hyder, afterwards so deadly an enemy to the English name, then only a boy of seventeen, made a rapid excursion with 5000 horse to the vicinity of Madras, and had nearly surprised several of the European residents in their country-houses. The Indian princes expected to see their adversary reduced to extremity by the want of provisions; but this was averted by the discovery of some hidden stores, which, according to national custom, had been buried in the earth. The nizam,

imprudent and impatient, insisted that they should no longer wait the slow operation of famine, but bring on a general action. They made the attack at Trinomalee, confident in their superior numbers and vast masses of cavalry; but Smith, by an able movement round a mountain, and by the skill with which his artillery was served, completely baffled the efforts of this great, though irregular host. The pursuit was marked by a singular occurrence. The nizam, according to his absurd practice, had ranged in the rear a long line of elephants, on which his favourite ladies, seated in pomp, surveyed the battle. When the field was seen to be lost, orders were sent that this cavalcade should retreat at full speed; but a female voice, issuing from a splendid vehicle borne by one of these animals, called, "This elephant has not been instructed so to turn, he follows the standard of the empire." The consequence was, that before the flag passed several of these huge quadrupeds had fallen, and the balls were already flying among the fair fugitives.

The nizam, on witnessing these disasters and the disappointment of all his hopes of aggrandizement at the expense of the English, began to waver in the alliance. Another check sustained near Amboor, and the invasion of his territory by a detachment from Bengal, confirmed him in the resolution to detach himself from Hyder, and agree to a separate treaty. It was concluded on the 23d February, 1768. Under the pressure of such circumstances he obtained tolerable terms; but was obliged to consent that the tribute paid for the Circars should be reduced, and continue only six years; and also that no opposition should be made to the ap-

propriation by the British of a considerable extent of Hyder's dominions.

The presidency of Madras felt now the highest exultation, and sent immediate orders to Colonel Smith to enter Mysore, and strike a blow at the centre of Hyder's power. That officer represented the impossibility of subsisting his army in the elevated and barren territory around Bangalore, which upon this plan must have been the first object of attack. He rather proposed, in the first instance, to occupy the fertile country extending along the foot of the Ghauts, and make it the basis of future operations. The council adopted the very questionable policy of combining these two plans; directing Smith to march upon Bangalore, while Colonel Wood with a separate detachment should conduct operations in the district adjoining the mountains. With this scheme they coupled the very injudicious measure of sending two commissioners to direct and assist, but more properly to obstruct the operations of the commander, while they engaged Mohammed Ali, the most unfit of all persons, to collect the revenue of the conquered territory. Operations were meantime favoured by a movement of British troops from Bombay, which had reduced Mangalore, Onore, and other important places on the western coast. Colonel Wood was thus enabled to overrun all the territory against which his arms were directed, subduing every place of consequence, while Smith arrived in the vicinity of Bangalore, and made preparations to besiege that important key of the kingdom. Thus in a few months Hyder had lost one-half of his dominions, and saw the centre of his power menaced. Having directed,

however, in the first instance, his whole force against the western districts, he succeeded in completely retrieving affairs there, and driving the English out of all the places which they had occupied. He then returned to the eastward to make head against the Madras army, which, though it had overrun an extensive tract of country, held it by a very precarious tenure. His numerical force was indeed much diminished by the defection of the nizam, but the remaining troops, being entirely under his own guidance, proved nearly as effective. The presidency incessantly urged Smith to besiege Bangalore, as the operation by which the war was to be brought to a crisis; but he replied that it was impossible to do so without previously defeating Hyder's army; and though that chief continually hovered round and harassed the English, he diligently and skilfully shunned a general action. Sensible, however, of the present superiority of his opponents, he made overtures, and showed a willingness to submit to very considerable sacrifices; offering to cede the frontier district of Baramahl, and to pay ten lacks of rupees for the expenses of the war; but the presidency, still buoyed up with hopes of conquest, made such enormous demands, both of money and territory, as confirmed his resolution to persevere in arms. The council, on pretence of consulting Smith, recalled him to Madras, leaving the command with Colonel Wood, who had gained reputation by his rapid conquest of the lower districts. This officer, however, proved himself wholly unable to contend with Hyder; at Baugloor he was surprised, and obliged to retreat with confusion and loss, till relieved by the prompt arrival of Major

Fitzgerald with a reinforcement. He was forthwith sent a prisoner to Madras, and the command devolved on the officer just named.

The British force had now been considerably weakened by remaining so long in the open field, precariously supplied with food, and exposed to the unfavourable influences of the climate. The Indian general, who had gained continual accessions of strength, determined on a bold movement, not in front of the English, but by one of his circuitous marches among the hills. First his general, and then himself, aided by their thorough knowledge of the passes of the Ghauts, descended suddenly into the lower districts of Coimbetoor and Baramahl, with the conquest of which the British had been so highly elated. He found the troops of that nation scattered in numerous small bodies, and occupying indefensible positions, which fell one after another, almost without resistance, while several were betrayed by the native commandants; so that in six weeks he had re-annexed to his territory all these boasted acquisitions. On this occasion a detachment under Captain Nixon was surrounded by the whole force of the enemy, and, after a most gallant resistance, almost entirely destroyed. Hyder then marched upon Eroad, which was under the command of Captain Orton, and invited that officer to come to his tent under promise of safety. The latter, with a rashness which Wilks can only account for by supposing that he had previously dined, went and placed himself in the power of his enemy. That chief, it is said, piqued himself upon not breaking faith without some plausible ground; but there happened to be in the English army a Captain Ro-

binson, who was formerly a prisoner and released on his parole, which he had not scrupled to violate. On this pretext Hyder not only detained Orton, but induced him, by force or threats, to sign an order to Captain Robinson to surrender the important fortress of Eroad, a mandate which this last thought it his duty to obey. The same pretext was used for breaking the capitulations with the troops in the garrison of Caveriporam, and sending them to Seringapatam, where they were immured in dungeons, and treated with the utmost severity.

Hyder, in his triumphant progress, now began to menace the rear of his adversaries. The English, awakening from their dreams of conquest, saw the very depôts and posts on which their military operations rested in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Their pride was so far lowered, that they despatched Captain Brooke to attempt a negotiation with the Mysorean sovereign. The latter received him extremely well, and seems to have explained his views with a candour not usual in the tortuous proceedings of oriental policy. He declared that it was, and had always been, his earnest wish to be on good terms with the British, an object defeated solely by themselves and their worthless ally, Mohammed Ali. He confessed that this desire was prompted by an enlarged view of his own interest, especially as being liable to a periodical visitation from the Mahrattas, whose usual time was now fast approaching. He frankly owned that he was unable to resist both them and the English, but warned Captain Brooke, that in such an extremity his resource would be to form a union with them against his European enemies, an arrangement in which he

would find no difficulty. He desired them, therefore, to understand that there was no time to be lost in making him either friend or foe. The presidency accordingly sent Mr Andrews, an individual greatly in their confidence, to the Indian camp; but still their terms were too high. Hostilities were resumed, and Smith being restored to the command, checked the progress of the enemy who, however, engaged at last in a most daring enterprise. With a body of 6000 chosen cavalry, and 200 picked infantry, he made a rapid sweep of 130 miles in less than four days, and appeared to the astonished council within five miles of Madras. Awakened then thoroughly from their dreams of ambition, they were seized with the deepest feelings of despondence. The British army could easily have returned in time to secure the fort; and they had only to fear the plunder of the country-seats, and perhaps of the native town, though this last danger is considered as doubtful; but they agreed at once to the demands which he made, that Colonel Smith should be ordered to suspend his march, and that M. Dupré, nominated as the future governor, should come out to treat for peace. In the present temper of the belligerents, the negotiation was neither long nor difficult; a treaty was concluded in April 1769, on the condition of placing the possessions of both parties, with scarcely an exception, on the same footing as before the war. Hyder solicited an alliance offensive and defensive; the English granted only the last, which, however, was found to involve them in all the responsibility that, by refusing the first, they had sought to escape.

Hyder having thus terminated with advantage

and glory this great contest with the British, had, as he foresaw, soon to encounter a still more formidable enemy. The Mahrattas, under Madoo Rao, entered his dominions with a force supposed to be at least double that of his army, and led by able commanders. He endeavoured a second time to check them by laying waste his territory; but the invaders, as before, surmounted every obstacle, and, forming a regular plan of conquest, reduced successively all the strong places, committing the most monstrous cruelties. At one fortress, which had made an obstinate resistance, the barbarian leader ordered the noses and ears of the garrison to be cut off; and sending for the governor, asked if he was not conscious of deserving to be thus mutilated and disgraced? The other replied:—"The mutilation will be mine, the disgrace yours;" an answer, the truth of which so forcibly struck the Mahratta, that he dismissed the prisoner uninjured.

Madoo Rao being obliged, by severe indisposition, to yield the command to Trimbuck Maina, Hyder determined to make a stand, and intrenched his army in a very strong position covered by a range of rugged mountains. The hostile general did not attempt directly to force this camp, but pointed against it day after day such a harassing cannonade, that the Mysorean at length determined to fall back upon his capital. He began his march early in the night, hoping before morning to be beyond reach of the enemy. But the rash discharge of a gun by one of the officers betrayed the secret, and the numerous squadrons of Mahratta horse were soon in full pursuit. A most extraordinary scene then ensued. The critical condition of the army had not prevented Hyder from indulging in habits of even-

ing inebriety, to which he had become addicted, and which now rendered him wholly unfit for directing the movement of the troops. Having in this state met his son Tippoo, he assailed him with the bitterest reproaches; then seizing a thick cane, applied it to his back with such vehemence, that the marks remained visible for upwards of a week. The prince, burning with indignation, went to the head of his division, dashed to the ground his turban, sword, and splendid robe, exclaiming:—"My father may fight his own battle, for I swear by Alla and his prophet, that I draw no sword to-day." The army thus left to itself, soon became a crowd of scattered fugitives, and Hyder with difficulty, as the Mahrattas were busied in plunder, mounted a fleet horse, and almost alone reached Seringapatam. Tippoo, having assumed an humble garb, begged his way undiscovered through the midst of the enemy, and arrived the same night in the capital.

Trimbuck Mama immediately marched upon Seringapatam, and seemed on the point of putting a period at once to the career of the great usurper. The Mahrattas, however, possessed no skill adequate to the siege of so strong a fortress. They kept up for a month a daily cannonade, which produced no effect, while the resources of Hyder were constantly recruited. He now proceeded to operate with success on their rear, and, after a tedious and harassing warfare of a year and a half, prevailed on them to accept the high terms which he offered; namely, the cession of a great part of his northern dominions, and the immediate payment of fifteen lacks of rupees, and fifteen more *hereafter*, of which last term he fully understood the value.

The English during this war did not fulfil their

engagement to aid the Mysorean chief in the defence of his dominions. Their councils, indeed, were in a very divided and distracted state. The crown had sent out Sir John Lindsay in a very anomalous character, as minister-plenipotentiary, holding a power nearly co-ordinate with that of the governor and council. This person formed a close intimacy with the nabob, Mohammed Ali, and joined him in urging that the presidency should embrace the cause of the invaders,—a measure which they firmly resisted; but these opposite impulses prevented action on either side. It was rather a subject of dismay to find that, in consequence of the large cessions extorted by the Mahrattas, their frontier and that of the British had actually come into contact.

Hyder, as soon as he had extricated himself from this invasion, employed the most active exertions to regain his lost territory. He turned his attention first to the Malabar coast, the communication with which could only be maintained through the intervening district of Coorg. He suddenly invaded that country, which he found almost wholly unprepared, and made a singular display of barbarian cruelty. He proclaimed a reward of five rupees for every head presented to him; then sat in state receiving and paying for these bloody trophies. But after seven hundred heads had been brought in, there appeared two with such peculiarly fine and handsome features, that he was moved with unwonted pity, and ordered the carnage to cease. Coorg was subdued; and the once powerful state of Calicut, distracted by internal commotions, scarcely made any resistance. Hyder's next aim was to recover the extensive territories wrested from him by the Mah-

rattas; and in this he was much favoured by the distractions in which that powerful confederacy was soon involved. Madoo Rao, their warlike chief, died in 1772, and after a short interval was succeeded by Ragonaut Rao, better known under the name of Ragoba, whose authority, however, was by no means fully acknowledged. The Mysorean rajah, therefore, fearlessly entered and overran a large portion of the ceded country. Ragoba, indeed, hastened to its defence, but being recalled by a violent insurrection, which ended in the overthrow of his power, he concluded a treaty allowing Hyder to occupy all the provinces south of the Kistna. Another army sent afterwards under Hurry Punt, the leader of the party which expelled Ragboa, penetrated into Mysore; but having gained over a detachment of the Mahratta troops, baffled all his attempts, and obliged him to retreat.

Immediately after the treaty with Ragoba, the indefatigable Hyder began operations against a number of independent chiefs who possessed fortresses on the borders, or even within the limits of his territory. Among the most remarkable of these was Gooty, the castle of Morari Rao, a fierce Mahratta freebooter, who had long acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of India. This stronghold consisted of numerous works, occupying the summit of several rocky hills. After the lower stations had been reduced, the upper made so obstinate a defence that a treaty was agreed on, granting peace on the payment of a large amount of treasure. A young man sent as a hostage, being well entertained in Hyder's camp, was induced to betray the secret cause of submission, namely, that there was only a supply of water for three

days in the fort. Hyder took no notice at the moment; but he soon after contrived to find a defect in the articles: he then renewed the siege, and Morari Rao was compelled to surrender at discretion. But the most obstinate resistance was experienced from the Polygar of Chittledroog, who ruled over a warlike and fanatic tribe, called Beder. They had reared in the most elevated part of their citadel a shrine to Cali or Doorga, the Indian goddess of destruction, and they firmly believed that, so long as it was duly served, the place would never fall. Every Monday morning solemn devotions were performed to the goddess; then a loud blast with the bugle was blown, upon which the garrison rushed forth in a desperate sally, with the object chiefly of procuring human heads to be ranged in pyramidal rows before the dread temple of the destroying deity. Although, contrary to every military rule, they thus gave to the enemy full warning of the period of attack, it was made with such fury, and at such various points, that the goddess was scarcely ever defrauded of her bloody trophies; and when the place fell, two thousand heads were found piled in front of her portal. Hyder was obliged by Mahratta invasion to abandon the siege, which, however, he afterwards renewed; but it was only through treason that the governor was obliged to own the mighty spell of Cali broken, and to admit an enemy within the impregnable bulwarks of Chittledroog.

Deep discontent against the English was now rankling in the mind of Hyder. He had, as formerly mentioned, earnestly courted their alliance; for his own purposes doubtless, but on the fair and honourable principle that the parties should mutually

support each other against the overwhelming power of the Mahrattas. Their conduct, however, in the late war, when they saw his very existence so long endangered without a single effort to relieve him, seems to have thoroughly and finally disgusted him. He gave up every hope of profiting by their alliance, and centred all his prospects of aggrandizement in their destruction. The Mahrattas again, whose councils had undergone a complete change, instead of threatening further invasion, sent proposals to Hyder for an alliance against the British; and a treaty preparatory to that object was accordingly concluded. By a singular fatality, the views of the government at Madras had been altered in the opposite direction, having become sensible of the advantages which might be derived from a union with the chief of Mysore. They even made overtures for a close alliance, with promises of co-operation in case of attack from any foreign enemy. His irritation, however, seems to have been only heightened, by having that aid which was denied at his utmost need thus pressed upon him at a moment when he could maintain his own ground. At this crisis the war, consequent upon the American contest, broke out between France and England, and was extended to India. The subjects of Louis, with their usual diplomatic activity, immediately opened a communication with Hyder, whom they found most favourably disposed towards them; and he engaged accordingly in that confederacy to which his house so immutably and so fatally adhered.

As soon as hostilities commenced, the English government formed a comprehensive plan for the reduction of all the French possessions in India with-

out any exception. Pondicherry soon fell; to which no opposition was made by Hyder, who even pretended to congratulate them on their success. When, however, they announced their intention of reducing Mahé, on the Malabar coast, he decidedly objected; urging, that the territory around it having been conquered by him, was now included in his dominions. The British did not consider this argument of sufficient weight to deter them from acting against a French fort. They accordingly sent an expedition, which speedily reduced the place, although Hyder gave all the aid that he could at the moment supply, in order to defend it. It has been supposed, that his resentment at this step was one cause of the rooted enmity which he ever after displayed against England; but the real motives of his conduct probably lay deeper, and were connected with a more comprehensive view of his peculiar interests.

The government at Madras, while they adopted a more judicious policy in regard to the chief of Mysore, unfortunately shut their eyes to the possibility of its failure, and could not be convinced that they were in any danger from his hostility. Yet he made no secret of his feelings, and seems even to have amused himself by trying how far he could proceed without rousing them from their security. They sent to him Swartz, the Danish missionary, a highly respectable and amiable man, whom Hyder received kindly; and on his return intrusted him with a letter, recounting a long list of wrongs sustained from the English, adding the ominous words—"I have not yet taken revenge: it is no matter." Mr Gray was afterwards despatched to him, but seemingly very ill provided for an Indian mission, having no presents

except a saddle and a gun, both of bad workmanship, which were disdainfully refused. He was lodged, or rather imprisoned, in a miserable shed near the capital, and annoyed with the impertinence of one of the court-menials. He obtained only formal audiences; while Mohammed Osmân, a confidential officer, brought to him messages by no means of an encouraging tenor. Hyder asked, "Of what avail were treaties? Of the treaty of 1769 the English had broken every article; his affairs had been reduced to the brink of ruin by their refusal to aid him against the Mahrattas: after such an example, it was unnecessary to enumerate minor grievances." As it was likewise evident that an expedition on a great scale was preparing in Mysore, Mohammed Ali remonstrated with the government in the strongest manner on the impending danger, and the necessity of taking the most vigorous steps to prevent it. But his system of policy was no longer in favour with the council; every thing hostile to Hyder was merely regarded as coming from one who had long misled them on this subject. The government were therefore completely unprepared for the tremendous blow with which they were about to be struck.

Early in June, 1780, after prayers had been offered in the mosques, and the solemn ceremony called *jebbum* performed by the Hindoos, for the success of the proposed expedition, Hyder quitted Seringapatam, and found mustered at the frontier perhaps the finest army that had ever taken the field in Southern India. It consisted of 28,000 cavalry, 15,000 regular infantry, and 40,000 irregular troops called peons, many of whom, however, were veterans,—in all 83,000, besides 2000 rocket-

men, 5000 pioneers, and about 400 Europeans. In the middle of July he marched through the pass of Changama, and began an unresisted career in the Carnatic, which he covered with the most dreadful devastation. A few days after, while the ruling party in the council would scarcely admit the existence of danger, black columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were seen approaching within a few miles of Madras. Colonel Wilks, however, controverts the general idea that the entire Carnatic was absolutely reduced to ashes. This would have been contrary to Hyder's object in pursuing a plan of conquest; he merely drew round Madras a wide circle of desolation, calculating that a tedious blockade would be necessary to reduce so strong a city.

As soon as the first alarm of the government had subsided, they began to consider the means of resistance, which, with an empty treasury, disunited councils, and the impossibility of placing any confidence in Mohammed Ali, appeared extremely deficient. The first object was to secure different strong places now held by the troops of the nabob, who, it was not doubted, would surrender them on the first serious attack. Several fell; but two were saved by the exertions of very young British officers. Lieutenant Flint, with a corps of 100 men, having proceeded to Wandewash, was refused admittance by the killedar or governor, who had already arranged the terms on which the fortress was to be surrendered. Flint, however, having with four of his men procured access, seized the commandant, and, aided by the better-disposed part of the garrison, made himself master of the stronghold.

The next object was to unite into one army the

different detachments spread over the country; the most numerous and best equipped being under Colonel Baillie, who had advanced considerably into the interior with a view to offensive operations. This corps amounted to 2800, the main body not exceeding 5200. Lord Macleod, who had recently arrived in India and held the actual command, strongly, and apparently with reason, recommended that the point of junction should be fixed in front of Madras, not in the heart of a country entirely occupied by the enemy. But Sir Hector Monro, the commander-in-chief, undertook to unite the armies at Conjeveram, fifty miles distant from the capital. Colonel Baillie, in order to reach that place, was obliged to take an inland route, in which he was exposed to the hazard of being attacked by the whole army of the invader. He was detained ten days by the swelling of the river Cortelaur, and, after effecting his passage, was attacked by a large detachment under Tippoo, which he repulsed, but not without sustaining some loss. Hyder then, under cover of a feigned movement against Sir Hector's army, interposed his whole force between the two English divisions. They were now only fourteen miles distant, within hearing of each other's cannon, and, could they have acted in concert, would have easily defeated the irregular host opposed to them. Baillie wrote, urging Sir Hector to join him; but the commander, conceiving that he would thereby lose Conjeveram with its little supply of provisions and stores, chose rather to send Colonel Fletcher with 1000 troops to support Colonel Baillie,—a most hazardous movement across a country covered by the enemy's detachments. Yet Fletcher, by great skill

and activity, and by deceiving his own deceitful guides, succeeded, amid every danger, in joining the corps that he was ordered to support, which he raised to upwards of 3700 men. Hyder burst into the most furious invectives against his officers for not having prevented this union; and the French, conceiving it preparatory to a combined attack by these two divisions, exhorted the chief, by speedy retreat, to shun a general action. Hyder had formed a juster estimate of those with whom he was to contend. Colonel Baillie first attempted a night-march, by which a great extent of ground might have been gained, and where, in case of attack, superior discipline would have given him the advantage; but meeting with some obstacles, he determined, contrary to Fletcher's advice, to delay till morning. He departed at dawn, but soon found himself opposed by the entire strength of the Mysore army. The English troops were at first harassed only by flying detachments; but when they came into a narrow and exposed part of the road, upwards of fifty pieces of cannon began to play upon them with the most terrible effect. The several narratives vary somewhat as to the farther issues of this dreadful day. According to official and other statements, the English repulsed repeated charges with prodigies of valour. Their bravery indeed is nowhere denied; but private accounts assert that Colonel Baillie, unaccustomed to separate command, and flying in an agitated manner from post to post, took no fixed position, and did not avail himself of his real advantages. The grenadiers called out to be led on, and not exposed without the means of resistance to the destructive fire of the enemy. Suddenly two tumbrils ex-

ploded, spreading dismay, and threatening a failure of ammunition. The Mysorean cavalry, headed by a desperado named Sindia, made a furious charge, by which the whole sepoy force was broken, and mingled with the enemy in inextricable confusion. The handful of British troops still kept their ground; but as no hope could be entertained of their being able to withstand the whole army of Hyder, Colonel Baillie walked in front, waved his handkerchief, and concluded that he had obtained the promise of quarter. But when the enemy rushed in, either disregarding their pledge, or indignant at a straggling fire which was still kept up by the sepoys, they treated the troops with the utmost cruelty, stabbing those already wounded, and even women and children. The only humanity which was exercised was obtained through the exertions of the French officers Lally and Pimorin. The greater part of the corps perished on the field; all the rest, including 200 Europeans, were taken prisoners.

Such was this miserable catastrophe, on which Colonel Wilks hesitates not to pronounce, that if either of the commanders had followed the dictates of ordinary experience, both corps would have been saved; and if the two chiefs had acted well, the discomfiture would have been on the side of the enemy. Sir Hector advanced within two miles of the fatal spot; but observing the firing cease, and no return made to his signals, he withdrew; and, on learning the fate of the detachment, fell back to Chingleput, where he was joined by a smaller party under Colonel Cosby, who had conducted his retreat with ability and success. The prisoners were conveyed to Seringapatam, where they were used with the great-

est inhumanity, being chained two and two, thrown into dungeons; and fed on the most scanty fare.

The first advantage that the ruler of Mysore drew from this victory was the reduction of Arcot, which, after a respectable defence, surrendered on the 3d November, 1800. He held also in close siege Wandewash, Vellore, Chingleput, and other important bulwarks of the Carnatic.

The intelligence of this signal disaster being conveyed to the main seat of government at Calcutta, Mr Hastings immediately took the most active steps to repair it. Sir Eyre Coote, a veteran officer enjoying the highest military reputation of any in India, was appointed to the chief command, and sent from Bengal with 560 European troops, while a corps of sepoys prepared to march along the coast as soon as the rainy season should terminate. At the same time the Governor of Madras was suspended, and his place in course supplied by the senior member of council, who had always opposed his inactive policy; but the funds for the prosecution of the war were placed in the hands of the new commander-in-chief.

General Coote, on arriving at Madras, and preparing to take the field, found at his disposal not more than 7000 men, of whom 1700 only were Europeans. Yet with this force, so far from fearing, he anxiously desired to encounter in the field the numerous, brave, and well-commanded army of the enemy. What he dreaded was the harassing warfare carried on by Hyder in a country which he had already converted almost into a desert. The English army, when it left Madras, was like a ship departing on a long voyage, or a caravan preparing

to cross the deserts of Arabia. Every thing by which life could be supported was to be carried along with it; and the troops, continuing to depend on the capital alone for supply, were in danger of absolute famine. As they moved in a close body through this desolated region, never occupying more than the ground which they actually covered, clouds of the enemy's cavalry hovered round them; who, finding that they did not choose to waste their ammunition on individual objects, even rode up to the line and held an occasional parley. This consisted chiefly in fierce defiances and invitations to single combat. Dallas, an officer of great personal prowess, successfully encountered several of the Indian chiefs, and his name was called out by the most daring. In this mode of fighting, however, the natives in general had the advantage.

Harassing as such a warfare was, and though the Mysorean chief continued to refuse battle, he was obliged to raise the siege of every place upon which the English directed their march. In this manner the important fortresses of Wandewash and Permacoil were relieved, and a stop was thereby put to the career of the enemy. The British commander, however, in following the rapid movements of this indefatigable adversary, found his troops so exhausted, and reduced to such destitution, as left no prospect of relief except in a general action, which he scarcely hoped to accomplish. But Hyder at length, encouraged by the appearance of a French fleet on the coast, and by a repulse sustained by the English in attacking the pagoda of Chillumbrum, intrenched his army in a strong post near Cuddalore, where he at once maintained his communication with the sea,

and cut off the supplies of his opponent. The station was extremely formidable; but Sir Eyre Coote skilfully led his men through a passage formed by the enemy for a different purpose, drew up the troops in the face of several powerful batteries, as well as of a vast body of cavalry, and finally carried all before him. Hyder, seated on a portable stool upon an eminence in the rear of the army, was struck with amazement at the success of the attack, and burst into the most furious passion; refusing for some time to move from the spot, till a trusty old servant almost by force drew the slippers on his legs, and placed him on a swift horse, which bore him out of the reach of danger.

This victory enabled the English commander to relieve Wandewash a second time, which was again closely pressed by Tippoo; but it did not supply his urgent want of money, provisions, and equipments. After sundry marches and countermarches, Hyder once more took ground, and waited battle in a position chosen by himself, being no other than that fortunate spot, as he deemed it, near the village of Polillоor, where he had gained the triumph over the corps of Colonel Baillie. Here General Coote led his troops to an action which proved more bloody than decisive. He placed them in various positions, but found them every where severely annoyed by a cross-fire from the enemy. Mr Mill's authorities even assert, that his movements were paralyzed by a dispute between him and Sir Hector Monro, and that had Hyder made a vigorous charge he would have completely carried the day. But he at length yielded the ground on which the battle was fought, and the English reached it over the dead bodies of their yet unburied

countrymen, who had fallen in the former action. The present, according to Mr Mill, was boasted of in the Mysorean accounts as a complete victory; but Colonel Wilks says they represented it merely as a drawn battle, which was not very far from the truth.

Neither the fame nor strength of the British army was improved by this engagement. The commander, however, having learned that the important fortress of Vellore was besieged and reduced to extremity, determined upon a vigorous attempt to relieve it; and having understood that Hyder was posted at Sholinghur, resolved upon another effort to bring him to action. On the morning of the 27th September, he pushed forward with such vigour as very nearly to surprise the Indians before their ranks could be fully formed. They rallied indeed, and made several brisk charges, but were finally obliged to betake themselves to flight with the loss of 5000 men, while only a hundred fell on the side of the assailants. General Coote was thus enabled, though not without difficulty, to march upon Vellore, the siege of which was abandoned on his approach.

The war continued with various fortune. Intelligence having been received of hostilities between the English and Dutch, Lord Macartney, now president at Madras, formed the design of reducing Negapatam, the capital of their settlements; and, finding Sir Eyre Coote opposed to the measure, completed, without drawing from the main army, a detachment of 4000 men commanded by Sir Hector Monro. The enterprise was conducted with the greatest vigour, and five successive lines of redoubts were carried by the besiegers with such energy and intrepidity, that

the garrison, though consisting of about 8000 men, capitulated in fourteen days. All the other Dutch settlements on the same coast fell along with it; and even their important station of Trincomalee, on the Island of Ceylon, was carried by storm.

Meantime Colonel Brathwaite, with a body of 2000 men, was recovering for the English their ascendency in Tanjore. His corps, however, when the whole country was occupied by the Mysorean cavalry, seems to have been too small to remain with safety detached from the main army. Hyder not only cut off from the British all sources of accurate information, but opened corrupted fountains; all the spies who pretended to give them intelligence were in his pay; and Brathwaite remained encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, without a suspicion that the flower of the enemy's forces were hemming him in on every side. Even when assured of the fact by one of the natives, he was so misled by opposite information as to think the assertion unworthy of credit. Suddenly he found himself enclosed by an army of more than ten times his number. All accounts agree that the resistance of this devoted little corps was truly gallant, and that, during the protracted contest, it repulsed repeated and desperate attacks. But at length an onset by the French troops broke the sepoys; the whole were thrown into confusion, and finally either killed or obliged to surrender. The French officers displayed their usual humanity, and even Tippoo, who commanded, did not on this occasion treat the prisoners with his accustomed cruelty.

Notwithstanding this triumph Hyder felt deep anxiety as to his future prospects. He learned that,

through the indefatigable exertions made by Mr Hastings from Bengal, the Mahratta government had withdrawn from his alliance, and had even bound themselves to guarantee the British territory as it stood at the period of their last treaty. At the same time a detachment, which he had sent to besiege Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, met with a very unexpected resistance; they were not only unable to make any impression, but, on a strong reinforcement being received from Bombay, were beaten and compelled to surrender. Hyder was so much depressed by these unfavourable circumstances, that he had even formed the design of evacuating the Carnatic, when tidings arrived of a strong body of French troops having arrived on the coast; and accordingly, on the 10th March, they were landed to the amount of 3000. The French and their allies, considering themselves now decidedly superior in the field, immediately laid siege to Cuddalore, which, having been imperfectly provided with the means of defence, surrendered almost without resistance. They then proceeded to besiege the important position of Wandewash; but General Coote having presented himself, and offered battle for its relief, the combined army, with all its boasted strength, declined that issue and retreated towards Pondicherry. The British general followed, and defeated them with considerable loss at Arnee. At the same time he threw supplies into Vellore, and undertook an expedition against Cuddalore, which failed only through the want of naval co-operation. Thus, even after obtaining a powerful reinforcement from France, Hyder remained still unable to face the British army in the open field.

In the mean time, the latter were employing vigorous efforts to make an impression on the side of Malabar. After the triumphant repulse of the enemy from Tellicherry, Major Abingdon reduced Calicut; and Colonel Humberstone, an able and intelligent officer, landed with an additional force from Bombay, which rendered the British completely masters of the field. The nayrs, hailing him as a deliverer, immediately joined their forces to his, and the combined troops marched into the interior. The enemy having imprudently waited their approach in a disadvantageous position, with a river in their rear, were totally defeated, and a great number drowned in the flight. Yet, on advancing into the country, the conqueror found himself so incumbered by the difficulties of the march, and harassed by parties acting in his rear, that he was obliged to commence his retreat. This movement it was soon necessary to make very rapid, as Tippoo and Lally had hastened with a large force to retrieve the Mysorean interests on this coast. The English troops fell back to Paniani, where Colonel Macleod, who arrived to take the command, intrenched himself so strongly, that Tippoo was repulsed with considerable loss. This prince, however, was preparing with a superior force to renew the attack, when he was recalled by an event of the most momentous character, to which he very naturally considered every other as secondary.

Hyder's health had for some time been in a state of rapid decline, and symptoms now appeared of that severe imposthume called the rajhora, or royal boil, said to be peculiar to India and to the higher ranks in that country. When decidedly formed, it baffles the skill of the native physicians, and proves

invariably fatal. He expired on the 7th December, 1782, at an age not precisely ascertained, but believed to have exceeded eighty. Of the numerous race of Indian adventurers he was perhaps the most remarkable. Without the first elements of education, unable to write or read, he made his way to the throne of a mighty kingdom, which he administered with brilliant talent and profound political sagacity, though without the least tincture of honour, principle, or humanity. His death formed a crisis the most alarming for the power which he had reared. An Indian army is held together by no sentiment of patriotism, public duty, or professional character, but simply by fealty to their chief, and to him individually. When he disappears, his soldiers are converted from an organized body to a scattered crowd of individuals, who either disperse entirely or are formed into bands, each following the leader who attaches them to him by his character, or can bribe them by his wealth. This danger was great as it respected the family of Hyder, whose active mind was the soul of every movement in the court and army. His sagacity, however, enabled him to choose instruments who, in the hour of trial, proved faithful to himself and his house.

The affairs of his treasury were carried on by the joint instrumentality of Poornea and Kishen Rao, two Bramins of opposite sects, speaking different languages, and serving as checks upon each other. These two persons, as soon as they saw Hyder's last hour approaching, formed in concert the extraordinary design of concealing it from the army and the world. The state of his health had for some time prevented him from receiving any but his most con-

fidential servants; to them the ministers, with awful injunctions of secrecy, communicated the fact; while to all the others they gave regular reports of the progress of Hyder's malady, which they represented to be of a favourable nature. Only Mohammed Ameen, cousin-german to the monarch, with another chief, formed the design of raising to power his second son, a youth of defective intellect, as a pageant in whose name they themselves might govern. But their plot was discovered; and they were apprehended and sent off under a strong guard, as if by the personal orders of the sovereign. The instant that Hyder expired, his faithful ministers despatched notice to his eldest son, which reached him in four days. Tippoo instantly suspended his operations against the English, and accomplished a march with extreme rapidity across the peninsula. As he approached, and learned that every thing was tranquil, he slackened his speed, and on the 2d January, 1783, made a private entry into the camp, where, after the usual distribution of pay and donatives, he was soon recognised as commander of the army and as sovereign of Mysore. He had now at his disposal troops estimated at 88,000 men, and a treasure amounting to three millions sterling, besides a great store of jewels and other precious effects.

Notwithstanding this studied concealment, the government at Madras received early notice of the death of Hyder. They immediately transmitted the intelligence to their commander-in-chief, urging him to make a rapid movement to take advantage of that disorganization which usually follows such a crisis in an Indian government. Unfortunately the most violent insubordination and dissension reigned among

the different members of the council at Madras. The dictatorial power, independent of the civil government, intrusted to Sir Eyre Coote, was perhaps necessary under the circumstances of that period, and had been attended with signal advantage in the conduct of the war; but it formed a precedent to which future commanders were too much inclined to appeal. General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre, claimed equal authority; while Lord Macartney required the entire subordination of the military to the civil administration. The former, to vindicate his supposed right, seems to have acted in studious contradiction to the instructions issued by the presidency. He first expressed doubts of the death of Hyder; then said that he would move in the proper time; next declared that his army was in no condition to march; and, in short, did not undertake any movement till thirteen days after Tippoo was fully established in the sovereignty.

This state of dissension between the civil and military authorities, each seeking rather to inculpate the other than to promote public objects, could not but be highly injurious to the service. The supreme government seem to have laid the chief blame upon that of Madras. They say, "You favour us with a collected mass of complaint and invective against this government; against the Nabob of Arcot and his ministers; against the commander-in-chief of all the forces in India; against the commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet; against your own provincial commander-in-chief; and again, against this government." It is observed, that the efforts of the presidency, when they had the entire management of the war and the most liberal sup-

plies, had been altogether unavailing for the delivery of the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote was again sent to take the command, with nearly the same unlimited powers as before, to which Lord Macartney very decidedly objected. But that gallant veteran, overcome by the hardships of the voyage, suffered a relapse of some former complaints, and expired on the 26th April, 1783, two days after reaching Madras, and about four months after the decease of the great Indian prince whose career he had checked.

The war in the Carnatic had now assumed an aspect favourable beyond expectation. Tippoo, from causes which we shall presently notice, considering the west of India as having become the principal theatre of war, withdrew his troops from the former, in order that he might act in the latter with more effect. In consequence of his departure it was determined to attack Cuddalore, where the French had now concentrated their main force. As this place was receiving continual reinforcements, it was desirable to proceed speedily to its investment; but the Madras government lodged heavy complaints of the tardy progress made by General Stuart, who performed only the daily march of three miles, and thus required forty days, instead of the usual period of twelve, to reach Cuddalore. He was censured also for immediately calling Colonel Fullerton from Tanjore, an expedient which was understood to be reserved for a case of urgent necessity. The fact, however, appears to have been, that with every reinforcement which could be obtained, the task was beyond his strength. Bussy, the French commander, had under him a numerous and brave garrison, with a considerable force of native

troops. In an attack, which took place on the 13th June, the English gained indeed the contested position, but with the loss of upwards of a thousand men. The garrison was afterwards repulsed with considerable loss in a midnight sally;* yet Suffrein, the French admiral, having made himself master of the sea, and landed a reinforcement of 2400, the enemy acquired a decided superiority, and prepared for an enterprise, which threatened the most disastrous consequences to the British. Stuart, irritated and disgusted, and considering himself abandoned by the government at Madras, had recklessly determined that the army should encounter whatever hazard might present itself. At this critical moment, however, tidings arrived of peace having been concluded between the two nations. Bussy soon after suspended offensive operations, and even sent orders to his countrymen to withdraw from the service of Tippoo, offering likewise his mediation between the two belligerent parties; but, though some advances were made, they were not immediately productive of any result.

We shall now turn our attention to the proceedings on the western coast, which were rapidly rising in importance. After Tippoo had retired so hastily to make good his claim to the crown, the English became again decidedly superior; and they obtained a considerable reinforcement under General Mathews, who assumed the command. That officer received from the presidency of Bombay positive orders to commence operations, and push forward with-

* Bernadotte, the present King of Sweden, was taken prisoner in this action, and treated by General Wangenhein with a humanity which he afterwards cordially acknowledged.

out delay, by the most direct road, against the important city of Bednore. Instructions thus peremptory, issued by a civil government placed at so great a distance, were manifestly inexpedient. Mathews wrote, remonstrating in the strongest manner against the danger of the course thus prescribed, and the disadvantage of depriving him of discretionary power. Yet, though there must be always some measure of discretion implied in such circumstances, he proceeded blindly and precipitately to carry his orders into effect. He landed his troops at the point of the coast nearest to Bednore, and began to scale the steepest part of the Ghauts, regardless of several detachments of the enemy which were hovering on his flank and rear. This officer experienced a success which there was little room to anticipate; every thing gave way before him; and Bednore itself surrendered without a blow. He is supposed to have found in that city a treasure exceeding £800,000, and was accused of appropriating to himself a considerable portion; but, from the events which followed, this charge could never be fully investigated. It would appear from Colonel Wilks, that treason, unknown to himself, had afforded the means of his success. Sheik Ayâz, the governor, had been raised to a high command by Hyder, who was accustomed to reproach Tippoo with the superior qualities of this slave as contrasted with his own. Hence the prince conceived the most deadly hatred against the favourite, who, soon after the late monarch's decease, intercepted a letter from the new sultan ordering him to be put to death. Under this impulse, he hastened to the citadel, and effected its delivery to the English. He did not, however, join in active

warfare against his cruel master, but on his approach retired to the coast.

Tippoo was greatly annoyed on learning the fall of this important place, and the near approach of the enemy towards his capital. Mathews was soon informed that successive corps were throwing themselves on his rear, and surrounding him with a force against which he would be unable to cope. He had by this time obtained permission from the Bombay government to act according to his own discretion; but he was now so elated by his important and easy victory, that he placed blind confidence in fortune, and even, according to Wilks, believed himself aided by some supernatural power. Thus, reposing in full security, he allowed his communications with the coast to be intercepted, while his troops were surrounded by Tippoo's whole force, aided by the science of Cossigny, a French engineer. The garrison were driven into the citadel, and after a brave defence, were reduced to the necessity of capitulating, though on favourable terms, receiving a promise that they should be safely conducted to the coast. When the Indian prince obtained admission into Bednore, he proceeded to the treasury; but, to his rage and dismay, found it empty. Orders were then given to search the persons of the English officers, on which unhappily was found a large sum both in money and jewels, considered always in India as public property. Upon this discovery he considered himself absolved from all that he had stipulated; the prisoners were thrown into irons, and committed to the most rigorous durance in the different fortresses of Mysore.

The sultan immediately marched down to the

coast, and laid siege to Mangalore, which, though a fortress of very secondary strength, was defended in the most gallant manner by Colonel Campbell. Having stood a siege of fifty-six days, it was reduced almost to a heap of ruins, when tidings arrived of the peace concluded between France and England. The French officers, Cossigny, Lally, and Boudenot, then separated with their troops from the army of Tippoo,—a measure viewed with great indignation by that prince, who considered them as personally united in alliance with himself during the present war; indeed they with difficulty escaped the effects of his resentment. Having made some vain attempts to prosecute the siege alone, he agreed to an armistice, which was to extend over the whole coast of Malabar. One condition was, that a certain supply of provisions, sufficient to keep up the present stock, should be allowed to enter Mangalore every month. But, although this stipulation was nominally observed, its spirit was completely violated, the provisions supplied being so defective, and of such bad quality, that the health of the garrison rapidly sank; while General M'Leod, with a very ill-timed scrupulosity, declined taking any effective means for introducing proper food. The consequence was, that Colonel Campbell, after sustaining a siege of nearly nine months, was obliged to surrender, and was so overpowered by the fatigues of the service, that he soon afterwards died.

Meantime in the south, under the able direction of Mr Sullivan the civil resident, and through the military talents of Colonels Lang and Fullerton, very important advantages were gained. First Caroor and Dindigul, and afterwards Palgaut and Co-

imbetoor, were reduced. The last of these officers was even preparing to ascend the Ghauts and march upon Seringapatam, when he was arrested by orders, and directed to restore all his recent conquests. Tippoo had applied for two English commissioners to proceed to his camp and treat for peace; and, with a courtesy which Colonel Wilks considers blamable, the Madras government had complied. These envoys, on discovering the sultan's proceedings with regard to Mangalore, sent orders to Fullerton to suspend the process of restoration. At length a treaty was concluded, founded on the basis that each party should retain his former possessions, and that Tippoo should release such of his prisoners as had survived the cruelties with which they had been treated.

CHAPTER III.

Conquest of Mysore.

Power of Tippoo—His Persecution of the Christians, and of the People of Coorg—Confederacy against him—His Successes—Conclusion of Peace—Cruel Treatment of the Natives in Calicut—Attack on Travancore—Repulse—Final Success—Arrival and Views of Marquis Cornwallis—He resolves to make War upon Tippoo—Treaty with the Nizam—General Medows opens the Campaign—Reduction of Dindigul and Palgaut—Successful Manœuvres of Tippoo—He lays waste the Carnatic—Cornwallis assumes the Command—Advances upon Bangalore—Reduces that Fortress—Nizam's Contingent—Advance upon Seringapatam—Engagement, Distress, and Retreat of the English—General Abercromby's Advance and Retreat—Junction with the Mahrattas—Reduction of several Hill-forts—Second March on Seringapatam—Defeat of Tippoo—Overtures from him—Terms accepted—The young Princes received as Hostages—Difficulties—Final Conclusion—General Results of the War—Pacific Policy of Sir John Shore—Arrival of Marquis Wellesley—His System—Tippoo's Negotiation with the French—British Influence established at the Court of the Nizam—Negotiations with the Sultan—Army advances against him—He attacks the Troops from Bombay—British March on Seringapatam—Action at Malavilly—Despondence of Tippoo—Siege commenced—Its Operations—Tippoo attempts to negotiate—His Alarm—Storming of Seringapatam—Death of the Sultan—His Character—Anecdotes—Disposal of the Kingdom of Mysore.

Tippoo, after having concluded this treaty, became the most prominent personage in the political world of India. Equal perhaps to his father in talents and ambition, sometimes even displaying a superior

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military genius, he was yet, as already observed, a very different character. The former always proceeded in a direct course to realize his schemes of interest or ambition, from which no other object could turn him aside. But Tippoo was agitated by various passions and caprices, which disqualified him from pursuing a decided line of policy. Instead of manifesting the indifference of Hyder on the subject of religion, he was inspired with a furious zeal in the cause of Islamism, which appeared in the most odious and tyrannical measures. The issue was, that he was buried under the ruins of the empire which he inherited, and which his predecessor, by so many arts and crimes, had raised out of nothing.

The first instance of religious persecution was directed against the Christians on the coast of Canara, who had been converted by the Portuguese. In this case, indeed, he seems to have had a somewhat plausible pretext. In his narrative he asserts, probably not without truth, that the Europeans had originally employed violent means to compel the natives to adopt the new creed. Having therefore collected 60,000, by his own statement, but, according to Wilks, only 30,000, he forcibly inflicted on them the rite of circumcision; then hurried them to the capital, and distributed them in the different garrisons; a barbarous treatment, by which it is said that many perished. By a strange inconsistency, he represented it as the highest honour to be thus urged to the profession of the Moslem faith, yet made it the punishment of rebellion and contumacy. The rude mountainous territory of Coorg had always formed a reluctant appendage

to the kingdom of Mysore. The people had taken advantage of the war with the English to reassert their independence; holding their conquerors in equal abhorrence on account of their religion, and their disregard for the rights of landed property. They now presented the aspect of a formidable resistance. Tippoo was obliged to march against them with his whole force, when they retreated into the depth of their forests, which appeared almost inaccessible. The sultan, however, divided his army into detachments, which formed a complete circle round the unhappy fugitives, and closed in upon them as huntsmen do in pursuit of game. At length the troops penetrated into their secret haunts, and carried off 70,000 victims to undergo the abhorred penalties of circumcision and captivity. Elated by these cruel triumphs, Tippoo hesitated not to assume the title of *padsha*, which our historians have not very accurately translated king. It was hitherto appropriated exclusively to the Great Mogul, whose supremacy had till that period been acknowledged in Mysore; but no sooner did the conqueror invest himself with this high distinction, than public prayers were offered for him instead of Shah Allum.

The increasing influence and lofty pretensions of this potentate raised against him, in 1786, a confederacy the most powerful that had for a long time been formed in Southern India. The Mahrattas had repeatedly shaken to its foundation the throne of Hyder; and, though now much disunited, they were still the greatest among the native powers. They held possession of the person as well as the capital of the Mogul, and had no rivals for empire unless in the Afghan sovereigns. With the

nizam, who ranked second in strength and dignity, they formed an alliance, which had for its object the subversion of the new kingdom in the south, and the division between them of all its possessions. So confident were the Mahrattas of a triumphant issue, that they did not even call in their own contingents, and declined courting the aid of the English, lest they should be obliged to share with them the expected spoil. The confederates advanced towards the Toombuddra, the chief barrier between their dominions and those of Tippoo; they besieged and took the strong fortress of Badamee; and their cavalry spread themselves over the country. The sultan did not attempt directly to oppose this invading force; but by a circuitous movement came rapidly upon Adonie or Adwanee, the principal fortress of the nizam south of the Toombuddra, and considered by this ruler so strong, that he had formed in it a sort of royal establishment, which included the harems of his brother and nephew. The son of Hyder pushed the siege with his characteristic impetuosity; but having prematurely attempted to storm a breach, found it so bravely defended by its commander, that he sustained a complete repulse. The confederate armies were thus enabled to come to its relief, and obliged him to retire. But it was now the season of the year at which the Toombuddra undergoes its periodical inundation, when it became necessary for the allies to have the whole of their armies, their materials and supplies, either on the one side or on the other of that river. To transport so many men and so much baggage to the southern bank, in the face of an active enemy, appeared too hazardous; they therefore recrossed to the northern side, leav-

ing Tippoo's dominions secure during the period of the monsoon. They were even reduced to the necessity of abandoning Adonie, after hastily withdrawing its distinguished inmates; and the victor on entering found numerous apartments still fitted up with all the splendour of royal palaces.

The sultan had now just ground to boast of his success; yet he aimed at extending it still farther. He caused a great quantity of timber to be felled in the forests of Bednore, and floated down the Toombuddra, where it was converted into rafts and basket-boats for conveying his forces across. All his officers dissuaded him from the daring scheme of carrying beyond this barrier offensive operations against such powerful armies. He rejected every argument, and in the course of a week had actually transported the whole of his troops to the other side. The enemy, who could not be made to believe in any such attempt, had neglected all precautions against it; and their indecisive movements soon showed how completely they were taken by surprise. After repeated marches and countermarches, Tippoo, with his whole force in four divisions, made a midnight attack upon their camp. Through a want of co-operation between these detachments, the undertaking did not completely succeed; yet the enemy were thereby compelled to quit their position, and when they afterwards attempted to regain it, were repulsed with considerable loss. The general issue of the day was such as induced them to retreat, abandoning to Tippoo the important city and district of Savanoor. Soon after, overtures were made for a treaty, which was concluded on the condition that the sultan should acknowledge the tribute stipulated

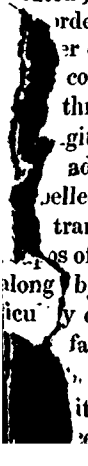
by Hyder; amounting still, after some liberal deductions, to forty-five lacks of rupees, thirty of which were actually paid. He restored also Adonie and the other towns taken during the war, and was in return recognised as sovereign of nearly all India south of the river Toombuddra.

By this successful contest against such a powerful confederacy, Tippoo had earned perhaps the greatest military name in India. He had displayed even prudence and moderation in the terms on which he concluded peace. He now considered himself, accordingly, the undisputed ruler of the south, and at liberty to propagate the Mohammedan faith by violence of every description. His first movement was to descend the Ghauts, into the territory of Calicut or Malabar Proper, which, by a hard-won conquest, Hyder had annexed to the dominion of Mysore. Here he found a race inspired with such deadly enmity to his favourite creed, that if a Mussulman touched the outer wall of a house, they thought it necessary to reduce the whole to ashes. Their religious profession, indeed, derived little credit from their moral conduct, since custom among the nayrs, or natives of high rank, sanctioned a mode of living so extremely dissolute, that Tippoo did not exaggerate when he told them, that "they were all born in adultery, and were more shameless in their connexions than the beasts of the field." But notwithstanding these habits, they possessed the utmost bravery, and were prepared to make the most determined resistance to the resolution entertained by the sultan of compelling them to undergo circumcision and eat beef. Even when vanquished they submitted to both conditions with extreme reluctance; and many

sought refuge in the heart of forests, or in the surrounding mountains, till at length the whole were either circumcised or driven from their fields and homes. The victor then commenced a war against the religious edifices. He publicly boasted that he had razed to the ground eight thousand temples, with their roofs of gold, silver, and copper, after digging up the treasures buried at the feet of the idols; but there is reason to believe, that in this instance he greatly exaggerated his own enormities. At length he became so elated with these exploits, that he appears to have considered himself as really endued with supernatural powers, and little if at all inferior to Mohammed, the founder of his faith. Being strongly advised by his counsellors not to attempt passing the Ghauts during the height of the rainy season, he replied, that "he would order the clouds to cease discharging their waters until he should have passed." But he had soon to encounter a mortal foe, against whom neither his earthly nor his celestial powers were found to avail.

The little kingdom of Travancore, forming the western part of the most southerly extremity of India, amid the revolutions which shook the greater states in its vicinity, had hitherto succeeded in maintaining independence and neutrality. It was protected not only by a lofty chain of mountains, extending as far as Cape Comorin, but by the more imperfect barrier of a wall and ditch covering its whole frontier. Tippoo, however, had fixed his eyes with intense eagerness on the conquest of a territory which lay as it were enclosed within his recent acquisitions, and would complete their

circuit. He contrived several grounds of dis-
faction. The territory of Cochin, which had
been reduced under complete vassalage to M
sore, happened so to intersect that of Travanc
that the wall formed for the defence of the
enclosed some portions of the other; and T p
could complain that his passage to a certain part
his dominions was obstructed by this barrier. T
Rajah of Travancore again, with the view of sec
ing his frontier, had purchased from the Dutch
forts of Cranganor and Ayacotta, which the la
had long ago conquered from the Portuguese. T
measure was deeply resented by Tippoo, who
marked that these forts stood within his territori
and alleged, though seemingly without reason, th
the Dutch had owned his superiority, and paid
rent for the land. Lastly, the refugee nayrs, flyi
from his persecution, had found a friendly rec
tion in Travancore. On these, or any other groun
the sultan would not have been slow to exe
his purpose, had it not been checked by a d
sive alliance formed during the last war bet
the rajah and the English. It was therefor
cessary to afford explanations to the govern
at Madras, who seem to have felt the utmost
position to preserve pacific relations with My
They professed themselves ready to listen to
reasonable grounds of complaint, and proposed s
ing two commissioners to examine, and endea
to adjust the matters in dispute. This did not
monize with the design of Tippoo, who ha
with his whole force to attack the weak barrie
Travancore lines. The extent of such a for
necessarily rendered it inefficient; and a

ly, on the 29th December, 1789, while a numerous body, comprising apparently the whole army, by a feigned attack on the principal gate, occupied the attention of the inhabitants, Tippoo, with upwards of 14,000 men, the flower of his troops, had effected his entrance at an unguarded point on the right flank. He then pushed along the interior of the rampart to reach the nearest entrance and open it to his men. For some time his progress was almost unresisted; the inhabitants retreating from one tower after another; though, as reinforcements arrived, they began to make a more vigorous stand. They maintained their defence particularly in a large square building that served the joint purpose of a magazine and barrack; and here Tippoo, seeing his first division considerably diminished by successive contests, ordered it to be strengthened by a fresh corps. This operation was ill understood and imperfectly executed; and, as the troops were advancing in some

rder, a party of twenty Travancoreans, from
r close covert, opened a brisk fire on their flank.
commanding-officer fell, when the whole body
thrown into irretrievable confusion. The mass
gitives drove before them a detachment which
advancing to their support, and who again
elled those behind. Many were thrown down
trampled to death; and the ditch was filled with
s of dead bodies. The sultan himself was borne
along by the torrent, and some servants with difficu y conveyed him over the ditch, after he had
fallen and suffered contusions; from the lame-
reby occasioned he never entirely recovered.
ita quin, the bearers of which had been trodden
er was left behind; and his seals, rings, and

other ornaments, fell into the hands of the enemy. He hastened forward, partly on foot and partly in a small carriage, and arrived at his camp in the most miserable plight, after losing 2000 of his men. So precarious is the fortune with which war, and especially barbarous war, is often attended!

It may be easier to conceive than describe the rage and humiliation of Tippoo at seeing his fine army thus completely repulsed by a despised enemy. He made a vow that he would not leave the encampment till he had retrieved and avenged the disaster. All his detachments were called in, his heavy cannon was brought down from Seringapatam and Bangalore; and though more than three months were employed in these preparations, he succeeded completely in lulling the suspicions of the British, and in persuading them that he was still desirous of maintaining amicable relations. At length, his arrangements being completed, about the beginning of April, 1790, he opened regular batteries against this co[illegible] temptible wall, and soon made a breach nearly th[illegible] quarters of a mile in extent. The troops of T[illegible] vancore, thus exposed in the open field, fled wi[illegible] little resistance, and Tippoo soon saw the wh[illegible] country lying defenceless before him. He imm[illegible] diately laid siege to Cranganor, near which, on t[illegible] neighbouring Island of Vipeen, the English had[illegible] small force stationed to assist the rajah. These w[illegible] reinforced by three battalions under Colonel I[illegible] ley, who, on finding that he could not unde[illegible] offensive operations, withdrew the native garr[illegible] from the place, and took up a defensive posi[illegible] in which the enemy did not attempt to molest[illegible] The Mysorean commander now overran a gre[illegible]

of the conquered territory, committing his usual devastations, and carrying great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity. Many, however, retired to their southern fastnesses, where they could with difficulty be pursued; and the season becoming unfavourable, Tippoo, who was also alarmed by the movements of the English, returned to Seringapatam, after having levelled to the ground the wall which had proved so unexpectedly formidable.

The Marquis Cornwallis had arrived in 1786 as governor-general, with a view to effect a complete reform in the system of Indian policy. To avoid by every possible means war with the native powers was one of his leading instructions. He began, accordingly, by proclaiming, in a manner that has been censured as too full and undisguised, the determination to engage in no hostilities not strictly defensive. Yet his views very early underwent a change; and he began to consider it necessary, or at least highly expedient, to engage in an extended warfare with the view of humbling completely the power of Mysore. It seems difficult to discover any good ground for altering his determination so entirely. Tippoo had no doubt shown himself very formidable; yet there was no reason to apprehend, while the whole of Central India was united by the alliance between the nizam and the Mahrattas, that the balance of power would be actually endangered; on the contrary, it was likely to be in greater peril from the downfal of one of these parties and the immoderate aggrandizement of the others. The new governor-general in adopting this policy was greatly influenced, we suspect, by the restless and violent disposition of the sultan, and by an abhorrence of the

cruel persecutions which he continued to inflict upon the inhabitants of the coast of Malabar.

The views of the marquis were soon developed by a treaty formed with the nizam. He had been instructed to take the earliest opportunity of demanding from this prince the cession of Guntoor, one of the Northern Circars, considered necessary for completing the circuit of that important territory. The claim now mentioned was founded on the agreement of 1768, originally concluded with a view to offensive war against Hyder, and to a partition of his dominions. This pretension was somewhat exorbitant, considering that the treaty had been repeatedly broken; that war had since been waged between the two parties, and peace twice concluded with Mysore without any regard to its stipulations. A military force, however, was despatched to support the claim, which the nizam showed a very remarkable and unexpected facility in granting. Hatred and fear of Tippoo had at this time overcome all other considerations, and he readily agreed to execute the conditions of the treaty relative to Guntoor, provided all the others, including extensive cessions promised to him from the expected spoil of his enemy, were also inserted. The governor-general could not grant this to the full extent, but he acceded to the proposal in case future circumstances should admit of its fulfilment. At the same time, agreeably to treaty, a subsidiary force was to be sent to the nizam, and securities were introduced that it should not be employed against certain other powers. No such saving clause being added in reference to the sultan, the negotiation with respect to him bore altogether a hostile character.

While actuated by these dispositions, Lord Cornwallis was probably gratified by learning that Tippoo, by his attack on the Travancore wall, had afforded a regular ground on which to declare war. He made a most indignant reply to the presidency at Madras, who, expressing their opinion that this prince still desired peace, were themselves entering into treaty, and making no preparation for hostilities. In fact, the Travancore affair, though it called for attention, does not seem to have pressed so closely on any British interest that an attempt might not have been made to adjust it by pacific arrangements. The marquis, however, announced, that it ought to have been considered, and must still be viewed as at once placing the two powers in a state of hostility. He had determined to repair to Madras and take the command in person; but changed this intention on learning the arrival of General Medows, in whose vigour and capacity he placed full confidence. At the same time he hastened to conclude an alliance with the nizam and the Mahratta government, who each engaged to employ their whole force against Tippoo; in return for which, upon the success of the war, all their claims upon the territory of Mysore were to be granted in their fullest extent. The former pressed earnestly for a guarantee that, while his troops were absent on the projected expedition, his country should not be pillaged by his warlike allies; but, though it was impossible to deny the reality of the danger, it would have been exceedingly ungracious, in a public document, to have supposed that great power capable of such a dereliction of duty and decency. The governor-general, however, gave private assurances of

protection, with which he prevailed upon the Indian prince to be satisfied.

Tippoo seems not to have been prepared for the prompt hostilities of the English. In June 1790, they commenced the campaign on the boldest system of offensive warfare; their aim being nothing less than by the most direct route to ascend the Ghauts from the south, and advance upon Seringapatam. This march had already been projected and considered practicable by Colonel Fullerton at the termination of the last war. As compared with the northern road through the frontier-district of the Baramahl, it had the disadvantage of being more remote from Madras, and consequently from all military supplies and stores; but it led through a country more abundant in forage and provisions, and avoided the obstacle presented by the powerful fortress of Bangalore. It was necessary, however, to begin by reducing the strong places possessed by the sultan in the low country; and General Medows, fixing his head-quarters at Coimbetoor, employed in this service Colonel Stuart, who had much experience of war in Southern India. The most important of these fortresses, and that which was considered the main bulwark of Tippoo in this quarter, was Palgaut, about thirty miles west of Coimbetoor. Stuart immediately marched against it, but had on his march to encounter an unexpected enemy. At this season the monsoon, which deluges the coast of Malabar, conveys only cooling and refreshing showers to the interior and eastern districts; but, in advancing westward, he met its full force, which rendered the country wholly unfit for military operations. After giving a formal summons to Palgaut, he returned, and was then despatched to Din-

digul, more than 100 miles distant in the south-east. Having formed a very inadequate idea of the strength of this place, he had carried only a small stock of ammunition, which was found nearly exhausted, after effecting only a very imperfect breach. No alternative was left but to attempt it such as it was. However, he was repulsed;—but the enemy were so struck by the spirit with which the assault was conducted, and so ignorant of the deficiency under which he laboured, that they sent proposals of surrender, on terms which the English commander was too wise not to accept.

By the time he returned from Dindigul, the season admitted of his again proceeding against Palgaut. Here he had been equally misinformed, though to quite a different effect, having been led to expect a very formidable resistance. He accordingly employed great efforts in sending forward a considerable train of artillery; but on the morning of the 21st September, two batteries having been opened, the guns of the fort were speedily silenced, and before night a breach was effected in the curtain. The garrison soon made offers of submission, asking scarcely any conditions except that they should be protected from the fury of the nayrs in the British service, who were ready to vent on all that belonged to Tippoo their deepest resentment for his barbarous persecution.

While Colonel Stuart was thus employed, considerable progress was made by the army towards the high land of Mysore. A chain of posts along the rivers Cavery and Bahvany,—Caroor, Eroad, Sattimungul,—had been successively reduced; and the last of these, commanding the important pass of Gujelhutty, which opened the way into the heart

of Mysore, was occupied by Colonel Floyd with a force of 2000 men. By this arrangement the different corps were very ill connected together. General Medows at Coimbetoor was sixty miles distant from the division of Floyd, and thirty from that of Stuart. The second of these officers pointed out the danger of his situation, and the intelligence he had received that Tippoo was collecting a great force to attack him. The commander, however, paid no attention to this warning, and ordered the detachment to continue in its present position. The Mysore cavalry, under Seyed Saheb, had indeed, in their first attack, been very easily repulsed, and even compelled to retire behind the Ghauts; but this failure of the advanced guard under a pusillanimous chief afforded no ground to judge of what might be expected when the whole force under the sultan himself should be brought into action. Early in September his horsemen were seen in large bodies descending the Ghauts; and as, when crossing the Bahvany at different points, they endeavoured to surround the handful of English and sepoys, the latter soon felt themselves in a very critical situation. They nevertheless made a gallant defence, and the enemy, having entangled their columns in the thick enclosures which surrounded the British position, were charged very effectually with the bayonet, and several troops entirely cut off. The Mysoreans, however, still advanced with increasing numbers, and opened a battery, which did great execution among the native soldiers; yet these last stood their ground with great bravery, saying,—"We have eaten the Company's salt; our lives are at their disposal." Thus the English maintained their position, and Tippoo thought proper to

withdraw during the night to the distance of several miles; but the casualties had been so severe, and the post proved so untenable, that Colonel Floyd considered it necessary in the morning to commence his retreat, leaving on the field three dismounted guns. The sultan, at the same time, having mustered his forces, began the pursuit with about fifteen thousand men, and after mid-day overtook his enemies as they retired in single column. The latter, being obliged to halt and form in order of battle, repulsed several charges; yet, as soon as they resumed their march, the Indians hovered round them on all sides. They were compelled to abandon three additional guns, and their situation was becoming more and more critical, when some cavalry being seen in the road from Coimbetoor, the cry arose that General Medows was coming to their aid. This report, being favoured by the commander, was echoed with such confidence through the ranks, that though Tippoo had good information to the contrary, he was deceived, and withdrew his squadrons. Colonel Floyd was thus enabled to prosecute his retreat towards the main army, which had already marched to meet him, but by a wrong road; and the two divisions, in short, found much difficulty, and suffered many hardships, before they could rejoin each other.

The English, in the course of these untoward events, had lost above 400 in killed and wounded; their plans for the campaign had been deranged; the stores and magazines formed on the proposed line of march lay open to Tippoo, and were therefore to be removed with all speed. Yet General Medows again resumed offensive operations, and had nearly come in contact with the army of the sultan; but

this chief, by a series of manœuvres, eluded both him and Colonel Maxwell, then stationed in Baramahl, and by a rapid march descended into the Coromandel territory. After menacing Trichinopoly, he turned northwards, and swept the Carnatic with nearly as little opposition as was experienced by his father during his first triumphant campaign. At Thiagar, indeed, he was repulsed by his old friend Captain Flint, whom he had learned to know at Wandewash; but scarcely any other place made even a show of resistance. He began by burning and destroying every thing in his way; but soon considered, that it would be more profitable to levy contributions, and thereby to replenish his somewhat exhausted treasury. On approaching Pondicherry, he endeavoured to open a negotiation with the French, which was rendered fruitless by the pacific disposition of Louis the Sixteenth.

General Medows in the field displayed courage and talent; but he had not shown himself equal to the intricate operations of an Indian campaign. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, determined to resume his original design of directing in person the course of the war; and having arrived at Madras, on the 29th January, took the command. He brought considerable reinforcements; and having ordered Medows to join him, resolved without hesitation to carry hostilities into the heart of Tippoo's dominions. In weighing the advantages of the two lines of operation, the north and the south, by which he could penetrate into the interior of Mysore, he preferred the former. Probably the failure of the late campaign a good deal influenced his choice; he considered also the distance to which his military movements

would in the other case be withdrawn from their point of support at Madras, and therefore decided upon braving all the difficulties presented by the fortress of Bangalore, and the bleak region in which it is situated.

On the 5th February the governor-general began his march, and on the 11th passed through Vellore towards Amboor, as if he had meant to ascend the mountains by some one of the passes directly opposite to Madras. Tippoo, meantime, was lingering near Pondicherry, in hopes of concluding his French negotiation, and being thereby reinforced by six thousand troops. He trusted, too, that with his light cavalry he might reach the passes towards which the English were advancing, in time to place himself in their front. Cornwallis, however, suddenly wheeled to the right, and by a circuitous march of four days attained the pass of Mooglee, where he found neither fear nor preparation on the part of the enemy. In a similar period he entered without resistance the high plain of Mysore, and was now in the heart of the sultan's country. This able movement, with which the commander-in-chief opened his career, struck his antagonist with consternation, and inspired the most favourable anticipations as to the manner in which the campaign would be conducted.

Tippoo, taken completely by surprise, hastened to the defence of his dominions; but he acted on no decided or effective plan. He lost a considerable time in superintending personally the removal of his harem from Bangalore; and, notwithstanding several attempts to harass the English, scarcely opposed an obstacle to their taking ground before that stronghold, which they did on the 5th March, 1791.

The siege was immediately begun with the utmost vigour, but, at the same time, under peculiar disadvantages. The fortress was too extensive to be invested; operations were therefore carried on solely by breach and battery; the garrison received all the reinforcements and supplies of which they stood in need; while Tippoo, with the whole of his brave and active army, well skilled in desultory warfare, hovered round, making continual efforts to support the besieged, and to annoy their assailants. Yet the only serious disaster which the latter experienced was occasioned by the too forward valour of Colonel Floyd, when despatched with the cavalry to cover a *reconnoissance*. Being about to retire, he saw the enemy's rear in a position peculiarly exposed to attack, and could not resist the temptation. He pushed on, and though soon entangled in broken and irregular ground, drove successive detachments before him, when suddenly a musket-ball entered his cheek, passed through both jaws, and he fell down apparently dead. The second in command being in the extreme left, there was no one to give orders or encourage the troops at this critical moment. They began a retreat, which, as the different corps of the enemy rallied and a cross-fire was opened from the fort, was soon changed into a confused flight. The overthrow might have been very serious, had not Colonel Gowdie come up with a body of infantry, and checked the advance of the sultan's horsemen. The loss of the British in men was only 71, but the destruction of nearly 300 horses was very severely felt.

Another enterprise, which proved somewhat hazardous, was the carrying of the town, or pettah as

it was called, of Bangalore, a place of very considerable extent and importance. It was surrounded with an indifferent wall, but the ditch was good, and the gate was covered by a very close thicket of Indian thorns. The attack was made, too, without any due knowledge of the ground; and the soldiers, both in advancing and in endeavouring to force open the gates, were exposed to a destructive fire from turrets lined with musketry. Colonel Moorhouse, one of the most accomplished characters in the service, received four wounds, which proved fatal. At length, when the gate was almost torn in pieces, Lieutenant Ayre, a man of very small stature, forced his way through it, and Medows, who preserved an inspiring gayety in the midst of battle, called out, "Well done! now, whiskers, try if you can follow and support the little gentleman." On this animating call, the troops dashed into the town; though its great extent rendered the occupation difficult. Tippoo likewise threw in a strong corps, which renewed the contest, opening a heavy fire of musketry; but, when the English betook themselves to the bayonet, they drove the enemy with irresistible fury through the streets and lanes, and soon compelled them to evacuate the pettah. Our loss, however, amounted to 131.

Notwithstanding every obstacle, the besiegers by the 21st had effected a breach, and though it was not in a condition for being stormed, yet, on considering the active movements made by Tippoo, it was determined to make the attempt that very night. It was bright moonlight,—eleven was the hour named, —and a whisper along the ranks was the signal appointed for advancing in profound silence. The

ladders were planted, and a few men had reached the rampart before the alarm extended through the garrison. The killedar or governor hastened to the spot, and fought with the utmost bravery, but he fell; and the assailants, charging with the bayonet, soon established themselves on the top of the walls. They spread to the right and left; columns descended into the body of the place; and in an hour they were masters of Bangalore. Tippoo had received the intelligence, and was marching with his whole force to save the place, when crowds of fugitives announced to him the disastrous event; and he remained the whole night sunk in silence and stupor. According to Wilks, he was aware of the intended attack, and had made preparations to meet it; but the facts do not seem very consistent with this statement.

After this triumph, Lord Cornwallis was still in extreme distress for provisions, and especially forage. Before making his grand movement upon the capital, he proceeded northward, in hopes of obtaining supplies, and of being joined by 10,000 horse which the nizam had promised. After a long march, the expected contingent made its appearance; but a woful disappointment was felt at the very aspect of such grotesque auxiliaries. According to Wilks, "it is probable that no national or private collection of ancient armour in Europe contains any weapon or article of personal equipment which might not be traced in this motley crowd,—the Parthian bow and arrow, the iron club of Scythia, sabres of every age and nation, lances of every length and description, and matchlocks of every form, metallic helmets of every pattern." This singular equipment was combined with "the total

absence of every symptom of order or obedience, excepting groups collected round their respective flags; every individual an independent warrior, self-impelled, affecting to be the champion whose single arm was to achieve victory." This corps, it was evident, could never be of any use in regular operations; but hopes were at first cherished that they might relieve the English from some of the harassing duty belonging to light troops. It was soon found, however, that they did nothing but plunder the natives and consume the stores of the camp, already almost entirely exhausted

Lord Cornwallis, though he had been so completely disappointed in his allies, and though all his departments, especially those of conveyance, were in the most imperfect state, was yet anxiously desirous to bring the war to a termination, which could be effected only by advancing upon Seringapatam. For this end all possible resources were called into action; the officers were invited, and agreed with alacrity to contribute their private means, and to hire from the natives accommodations, which the latter would not willingly have placed under the control of a public department. Cannon-balls were carried even by women and children; and thus, without almost any regular equipment, the army was enabled to march upon the capital. This movement struck Tippoo with alarm; he had even made arrangements for conveying his harem and treasure to Chittledroog; but his mother represented to him the fatal impression of despondency which such a step would make upon his troops and subjects. He yielded to her judgment, and determined to hazard all in the defence of Seringapatam.

His mingled apprehension and rage were oddly displayed, in effacing from the walls of the city numerous caricatures representing the English in the most ridiculous attitudes, with which he had caused them to be embellished, and also in the secret murder of a number of his prisoners.

The sultan had hitherto confined himself to a desultory warfare, endeavouring to cut off the British by detachments, in the manner which, during the last contest, had been so successful; but in his campaign with Lord Cornwallis, he had been unable to achieve any exploit of this description; and now the danger of his capital, and it is said the reproaches of his wives, urged him to hazard a general battle rather than allow Seringapatam to be invested. He drew up his men with judgment on a range of heights in front of the Cavery, which here separated his army from the island in which Seringapatam stood. The governor-general, by a night-movement, placed himself on the enemy's left flank; but Tippoo, with great promptitude, had anticipated the object of his opponent by occupying a succession of steep hills in front of his position, from the possession of which he derived a great advantage. The battle was of long continuance, and maintained with great obstinacy. The English, unable to employ their own artillery with any effect, suffered considerably from that of the enemy, and were also seriously annoyed by numerous flights of rockets furnished from the capital. Yet, on coming to close combat, they carried, by successive charges, one point after another, till the whole of the sultan's army was obliged to seek shelter under the fortifications of Seringapatam.

Lord Cornwallis, at the expense of 500 men in killed and wounded, had gained the honour of the day; but he was in such a situation that only a decisive victory, and scarcely even that, could have enabled him to achieve his object. Tippoo had practised, with the utmost diligence, his old system of laying waste the country around the English. They had marched through a desert, and in vain, by sending scouts in every direction, endeavoured to find a human being who could afford either aid or information. The army was now suffering most deeply from famine, disease, and all those evils which, in a campaign, are often more fatal than the sword. Their means of conveyance were so deficient that the troops were compelled, in view of the enemy, to drag the baggage, and even the heavy cannon, as if they had been beasts of burden. In short, after several marches and counter-marches, the British commander felt himself under the painful necessity of immediately retreating, with the sacrifice of all the battering-train and heavy equipments with which he was to have besieged Seringapatam. He was obliged also to stop the progress of another expedition which was advancing to his support.

Although Madras was the main centre of the English operations, yet the war had extended to the coast of Malabar. There Colonel Hartley held the command, with a force numerically small, but aided by the zealous co-operation of the natives, who had been thoroughly alienated by the violence of Tippoo. This enmity towards the sultan rendered it impossible for his troops to carry on that desultory warfare in which they excelled; they

were therefore obliged to fight a regular battle, and were completely defeated. Soon after, in December, 1790, General Ralph Abercromby landed with a large force, reduced Cananor, and easily made himself master of every place held by the enemy in Malabar. He met with another auxiliary, who opened for him a passage into the heart of Tippoo's dominions. An account has been given of the injurious treatment suffered by the people of Coorg from the ruler of Mysore. Their youthful rajah, after a long captivity, had lately contrived to effect his return. The greater part of his subjects were groaning in exile; but in the depth of the woody recesses there was still a band of freemen, who rallied round him with enthusiastic ardour. By a series of exploits, that might have adorned a tale of romance, the young prince recalled his people from the distant parts to which they had been driven,—organized them into a regular military body, drove the oppressors from post after post, and, finally, became complete master of Coorg, expelling the Mohammedan settlers who had been forcibly introduced. A common interest soon united him in strict alliance with General Abercromby, who thus obtained a route by which he could transport his army, without opposition, into the high plain of Mysore. The conveyance of the heavy cannon, however, was a most laborious task, as it was often necessary to drag them by ropes and pulleys up the tremendous steeps, which form on this side the declivity of the Ghauts. At length the general had overcome every difficulty, and was in full march to join Lord Cornwallis, when he received orders to retreat, which, in this case, too,

could be effected only by the sacrifice of all the heavy artillery.

As his lordship was retiring, in a most shattered condition, upon Bangalore, the strength of the men sinking from want of food, and the sick being with the utmost difficulty dragged along, his troops were alarmed by the appearance on their left of a large body of cavalry, apparently the vanguard of a numerous army; but as they were preparing for resistance, one of the horsemen rode up and called out that he was a Mahratta. This proved in fact to be no other than the first division of those potent allies, under the command of Purseram Bhow and Hurry Punt. These chiefs had taken the field in good time, and this unfortunate delay had been occasioned by the siege of Darwar, a very strong place considerably to the northward, which Tippoo had carefully fortified and garrisoned with chosen troops. Purseram Bhow, seconded by a small detachment of English, sat down before it in September 1791; but our officers were almost distracted to see the manner in which this important siege was conducted. The Mahrattas, in working a battery, never pointed their cannon so as to make a breach in a particular spot, but aimed at random all round the wall. After loading a gun they sat down, smoked, and conversed for half an hour; then fired, reloaded, and resumed their conversation. Two hours at mid-day, by mutual consent, were set apart for meals and recreation. The English calculated seven years as the period in which a breach might be effected; and Colonel Frederick, an officer of high spirit, and animated with the most eager anxiety for the success of this important service, was seized with such chagrin

that he fell ill and died. However, at the end of six months the garrison, finding their provisions become scarce, and discouraged by the fall of Bangalore, proposed terms of capitulation, which were granted, though ill observed. The great Mahratta army then moved leisurely forward into Mysore, where, in the manner before mentioned, they met with their European allies. Had Cornwallis been aware that this large force was advancing to his aid, he would probably have made every exertion to maintain his ground before Seringapatam; but the activity of Tippoo's light troops completely intercepted the intelligence.

As soon as these auxiliaries arrived, the scarcity in the cantonments of the English, which previously amounted almost to famine, ceased, so far as they were willing to pay the enormous prices that were extorted from their necessities. Every article abounded in that predatory host: it exhibited "the spoils of the East, and the industry of the West,—from a web of English broad cloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the second-hand garment of the Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water to the silver earring of a poor plundered village-maiden;" while "the tables of the money-changers, overspread with the coins of every country of the East, gave evidence of an extent of mercantile activity utterly inconceivable in any camp, excepting that of systematic plunderers, by wholesale and retail." These allies, however, introduced the commander to a most useful class of men, the brinjarries or grain-merchants; who, travelling in large armed bodies with their wives and children, made it their business to sup-

ply all the militant powers of Indostan. They distributed their corn with the strictest impartiality to all who could pay for it; and the general, now amply supplied with funds, was no longer exposed to want, and easily obtained a preference over Tippoo, whose pecuniary resources were beginning to fail.

Although the army was thus relieved from the immediate pressure of distress, Lord Cornwallis did not conceive it possible to advance again upon Seringapatam till the arrival of a more favourable season, and till a fresh battering-train and other extensive supplies should be forwarded from Madras. In the mean time the troops were employed in the reduction of some of the tremendous *droogs*, or precipitous rocks, which rise as natural fortresses in this as well as in other of the elevated plains of India. Among these Nundidroog, almost inaccessible by nature, had been fortified with every care to render it impregnable, and was placed under the command of one of Tippoo's ablest officers. Yet Major Gowdie, after some successful experiments upon minor forts, undertook its reduction. The only one of its faces at all capable of approach, had been strengthened near the top by a double wall; while the labour of establishing works on its steep and craggy sides, and conveying cannon to the batteries, was excessive. In twenty-one days two breaches were effected, and one morning, by clear moonlight, the assault was given by General Medows in person. The defence was vigorous; huge masses of granite were rolled down, with tremendous crash, from steep to steep; yet the assailants vanquished every obstacle, and forcing the interior gate, effected their entrance. During the

whole siege they had only 120 killed and wounded, of which 30 fell in the assault, chiefly by the stones precipitated from the summit.

The *droogs* being thus viewed as no longer impregnable, Colonel Stuart undertook Savendroog, which bore a still more formidable character, and had been considered by the commander as a place not to be attempted. Yet after seven days' approaches and five of open batteries, it was carried by storm without the loss of a single life. Ootradroog, struck with dismay by these successes, fell with little effort. A *coup-de-main* had meantime been attempted against Kistnagherry, the capital and bulwark of the Baramahl. This attempt failed; Colonel Maxwell being only able to burn the town, that it might not serve as a cover to predatory inroads. Tippoo, in the interval, had sent an expedition to the south, which succeeded, by a series of manœuvres, in carrying Coimbetoor with its English garrison; and, violating the capitulation, by which they were to be allowed to join in safety their countrymen at Palgaut, he caused them to be marched prisoners to Seringapatam.

After some abortive attempts at negotiation, Lord Cornwallis, having completed his preparations and brought his army into a state of full equipment, determined no longer to delay his march upon the capital. He was now joined by the army of the nizam under his son Secunder Jah, which had been hitherto detained by the siege of Goorumconda. His followers consisted of a tumultuary host, closely resembling the corps already described, and giving little hope of an effective co-operation. Purseram Bhow, who with his numerous body of Mahrattas might have per-

formed with great advantage the services assigned to light troops, had concluded that it would be more profitable to himself to turn aside and plunder the rich country of Bednore; and to this personal interest he hesitated not to sacrifice all the grand objects of the confederacy. Captain Little, who, with a corps of about a thousand men, had been attached to the army of the Bhow, was obliged to second him in all these irregular pursuits; the most arduous services devolving upon himself and his followers. At one time he was urged to attack a large detachment of Tippoo's army, stationed in an almost impenetrable jungle, covered by a deep ravine. With less than 750 bayonets he undertook the service, and, after a severe and even doubtful contest, dislodged the enemy with great loss,—an exploit considered one of the most brilliant by which this war was distinguished.

By these circumstances Lord Cornwallis was reduced to depend on the force under his own immediate command, amounting to 22,000 men, including 42 battering-guns and 44 field-pieces; and on that of General Abercromby, consisting of 8400 men, which he ordered immediately to approach Seringapatam. He began his march on the 1st February, 1792, and by proceeding in three lines instead of one, with his ordnance and heavy baggage in the centre, his infantry and light troops on the flanks, he avoided much of the annoyance hitherto experienced from the attacks of an active enemy.

On the 5th of the month, the English army having reached a range of heights, discovered the Mysorean capital, in front of which Tippoo, with his whole force, amounting to between 40 and 50,000 infantry,

and 5000 cavalry, appeared strongly intrenched. In Colonel Wilks' opinion, he would have practised with greater advantage his early system of desultory warfare, by throwing into the capital a strong garrison under a faithful commander, while he himself, with his light cavalry, might have endeavoured to intercept the supplies and communications of the enemy. The sultan, however, it is probable, fully trusted to the strength of his present position, and also hoped by maintaining it, that he might weary out and finally exhaust his antagonist, in the same manner as Hyder in 1767 had baffled the formidable invasion of the Mahrattas. His encampment was exceedingly strong, covered in front by a thick bamboo-hedge and by a small river and canal, while the actual position of his army was secured in front by a fortified hill and a chain of redoubts, and its rear by the works of the city and island, which, at the same time, afforded a secure retreat. This situation was such as, in the opinion of many, and particularly of all the native officers, precluded every idea of attack. Lord Cornwallis, however, considered, that while his movements were delayed, this intrenchment would be continually strengthened by new works, and that his own situation, amid a hostile country and allies so little to be trusted, would become always more difficult and precarious. He determined, therefore, to make an immediate and general attack; though it appeared necessary, as in the storming of a fortress, to carry on his operations under cover of night, when the batteries by which the camp was defended could not be directed with any degree of precision.

The troops to be employed in this hazardous

service were divided into three columns, under General Medows, Colonels Stuart and Maxwell; the commander with the reserve following close behind. The whole, under a bright moon, began to move at eight in the evening. The operations of this memorable night have been very minutely narrated, but they are nevertheless partly enveloped in the obscurity of the scene in which they were acted; and we should despair, without minute topographical details, of conveying to our readers a distinct comprehension of them. The officers experienced to a considerable extent the casualties and dangers of a nocturnal attack. The divisions of Colonels Stuart and Maxwell were once on the point of charging each other with the bayonet. Lord Cornwallis having entered the boundary-hedge, and searching in vain for General Medows, was attacked by a greatly superior force, against which he with difficulty maintained his ground. The general issue of the contest, however, was, that the English, when regularly brought to bear upon the enemy, carried all before them. The most critical moment was, when the two divisions above mentioned, after having found a ford, undertook to force their way across the river. Being aided by an able movement of Colonel Knox, they succeeded more easily than was expected, though it was so deep that all their cartridges were spoiled by the water, and they were accordingly compelled to place their sole reliance on the bayonet. Tippoo, during the early part of the engagement, occupied a strong redoubt on the river, where he took his evening meal; but, on seeing the English divisions advance to the ford, he felt alarm as to his communication

with the city, and hastened to cross it before them. He almost touched the head of the column, and had several of his attendants killed before he could reach a detached work in an angle of the fort, where he took a fresh station. But morning soon dawned, and discovered the British army fully established on the island, and facing the fortress without any interposing barrier. The sultan lost, it is said, no less than 23,000 men, chiefly in consequence of the multitudes who dispersed amid the confusion, and returned to their homes. A body of ten thousand, with their wives and children, rushed along the Mysore bridge to reach the western territory. The loss of the British army amounted only to five hundred in killed and wounded.

Tippoo, on discovering the extent of his disaster, made the most vigorous efforts to retrieve it. By the advice of Poornea his treasurer, he announced that two lacks of rupees would be distributed among the troops, as the most effectual mode of alluring back the numerous fugitives. He urged his soldiers to recover if possible the positions in which the British were not fully established; and several of their attacks, being supported by the artillery of the fort, were very formidable; but they were all finally baffled by British heroism.

It was no longer possible for the sultan to conceal from himself that his crown and kingdom were in the most extreme peril, and indeed that a peace dictated by his enemies could alone save them. The English force under Cornwallis had singly defeated his army and besieged his capital; and that force was now about to be increased by the corps under General Abercromby, by another from the south, which had

ascended the pass of Gujelhutty, and even by the Mahrattas under Purseram Bhow, who had at length been shamed or frightened out of his predatory course. There was nothing, therefore, as Colonel Wilks observes, but the general uncertainty of human things, which could leave a doubt as to his approaching downfal. He accordingly determined to seek peace on almost any conditions. Two English officers, Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, who had been taken at Coimbetoor, and made prisoners contrary to the terms of capitulation, were still detained at Seringapatam. They were sent for, and the first was asked if he was not an officer of rank, and a near relation of Lord Cornwallis. Notwithstanding his reply in the negative, he was released, and desired to convey to that commander the sultan's earnest wish for peace, and the proposal to send an envoy to treat for it. His lordship's answer, though it expressed deep dissatisfaction at the treatment of the prisoners, contained an acceptance of this overture. An officer of distinction, Gholaum Ali, arrived in the camp, and several days were busily spent in negotiation, to which the allies, though they had been so entirely useless, were admitted on equal terms. The following was at length fixed as the ultimatum to be delivered to Tippoo :—The surrender of half his dominions, taken from districts contiguous to the territory of the allies; the payment of three crores and thirty lacks of rupees (about £4,000,000 sterling); and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages. Hard as these conditions were, they were powerfully enforced by events which had occurred in the course of the negotiation. On the night of the 18th February, while the attention of the enemy was at-

tracted to the south side of the fort by the operations of a flying corps under Major Dalrymple and Captain Robertson, the trenches were opened on the north side with such silence and caution, that though the fort was kept blazing with blue lights for the purpose of observation, morning had arrived before Tippoo discovered that this attack, so fatal to him, had commenced. A nullah or ravine had been converted into a wide and extensive parallel, where the assailants were placed so fully under cover, as to render ineffectual every attempt to interrupt their operations. This parallel was carried on and improved till the 21st, when it was completed; and in the night the line was marked out for a second. This was finished on the 23d, and the ground was fixed for the breaching-batteries about 500 yards from the fort, in so advantageous a position, as to leave no doubt of a practicable breach being speedily effected.

As the crisis of his fate thus rapidly approached, Tippoo felt the necessity of coming to a prompt decision upon the proposals submitted by the British commander. He called his principal officers to meet in the great mosque, and laying before them the Koran, adjured them by that sacred book to give faithful advice in this dread emergency. He stated the terms demanded by the enemy, adding,—"You have heard the conditions of peace, and you have now to hear and answer my question, *Shall it be peace or war?*" A reference made in such words, could leave no doubt as to the course which Tippoo felt himself under the necessity of following, and that he merely sought the sanction of his chiefs. They unanimously agreed that, under present cir-

cumstances, there remained no alternative. The scene is said to have been peculiarly affecting, and Colonel Wilks met with few that had been present who could even allude to it without tears in their eyes.

That very night Tippoo sent off, signed and sealed, the conditions transmitted to him by Lord Cornwallis. Early in the morning orders were sent to the English troops to cease from their labour in the trenches, and to forbear farther hostilities. The injunction was received with a deep feeling of disappointment. Their enthusiasm had been raised to the highest pitch; they cherished the most sanguine hopes that they should triumphantly scale the proud walls of Seringapatam, and with their own hands rescue their countrymen immured in its dungeons. The commander-in-chief, however, issued very judicious general orders, in which he exhorted them to display moderation in their present success, and to avoid any insult to their humbled adversary.

An interesting scene occurred in the fulfilment of that article of the treaty which related to the delivery of the two royal youths as hostages. We confess ourselves unable fully to perceive the object of a stipulation, conformable indeed to Indian ideas, but contrary to the more improved feelings of modern Europe. Supposing the treaty violated in the most flagrant manner, what use could have been made of the boys, or what injury done to them? However, such being the course adopted, Lord Cornwallis softened it by every species of kindness and indulgence. In consequence of the deep distress which was understood to prevail in the palace, a day's delay was granted. Tents hav-

ing been sent from the fort, and erected for their accommodation, the general offered to wait upon them; but Tippoo wrote that it was his particular wish they should be brought to his lordship's tent, and delivered into his own hands. They set out at one in the forenoon of the 26th, the walls being crowded with spectators, among whom was the sultan himself. They rode on elephants richly caparisoned, dressed in white muslin robes, having round their necks several rows of large pearls, intermingled with valuable jewels. The marquis received them at the door, and taking their hands in his, led them into his tent. The chief vakeel then said,—"These children were this morning the sons of the sultan, my master; their situation is now changed, and they must look up to your lordship as their father." Their reception was in fact truly paternal; they were soon relieved from all apprehension; and though only eight and ten years of age, yet, having been trained with infinite care in every thing at least relating to external behaviour, they astonished all present by the dignity and ease of their deportment, and by that union of politeness and reserve which characterizes oriental courts.

After the hostages had been delivered, and a crore of rupees paid, a serious difficulty arose. The treaty stipulated the surrender of one-half of Tippoo's dominions, where they bordered on those of the allies; but there was no specification of the actual territories to be ceded,—a point so essential, that it ought, one would imagine, to have preceded the execution of any of the articles. The ceded districts were to be rated according to the revenues which they yielded. Tippoo presented statements by which the produce of

those contiguous to the possessions of the allies were grossly exaggerated, and the others underrated; while the nizam and Purseram Bhow were not slow to err on the opposite side, and hence the discrepancy became enormous. Meantime reports were spread of suspicious conduct on the part of Tippoo, and in particular that, contrary to treaty, he was actively strengthening the fortifications of Seringapatam. When remonstrated with on this subject, he replied that, if they thought proper, he would throw down a bastion and let the English see into the fort; an answer so wild and extravagant, that it tended little to dispel apprehension.

At length Tippoo's vakeels produced documents which were judged to be authentic, and whence it appeared that the entire revenue of their master's dominions did not exceed £2,960,000. Each of the allies then picked out what best suited him; the Mahrattas extended their frontier to the Toombudra; the nizam carried his beyond the Pennar. The English took their share in detached portions; on the east the frontier-territory of Baramahl; in the south Dindigul; on the west a great extent of the disputed coast of Malabar, including Tellicherry and Calicut. No objection was made till it was observed that this last section included Coorg, long the subject of much deadly contest. On seeing this condition, the sultan burst into a paroxysm of rage that approached to absolute frenzy. "To which of their territories," said he, "is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask at once for Seringapatam? They know that I would sooner have died in the breach than have consented to such a cession, and durst not bring it forward till they had treacher-

ously obtained my children and my treasure." Some English authors endeavour to prove that the demand ought not to have been unexpected; and yet it cannot be denied that, while all the other cessions consisted of frontier-territories, leaving untouched the mountain-barrier which enclosed Mysore Proper, this included a portion of its very summit, and opened a ready access to the capital. But the truth is, that while Tippoo was eagerly intent on pouring his vengeance on its brave people, Lord Cornwallis could not abandon to his fury faithful allies, and a race unjustly oppressed. Upon this refusal all was again in movement,—the princes were separated from their native attendants, and arrangements entered into for despatching them to the Carnatic under an English escort,—preparations were made for renewing the siege,—the army was again full of hope and animation,—Purseram Bhow began once more to plunder. In less than two days, however, Tippoo again felt the weight of the necessity which pressed upon him, and sent notice that the demand was acceded to. A considerable delay still intervened; but, on the 18th March, 1792, the definitive treaty was transmitted to the young princes, that by their hands it might be delivered. At ten in the morning of the 19th they waited on Lord Cornwallis, and the eldest presented to him all the three copies of the treaty; but as the vakeels of the two allied chiefs, who did not choose to appear in person, soon after entered, his lordship returned their copies, which the boy delivered to them in a manly though evidently less cordial manner; and on hearing something muttered by the Mahratta envoy, asked what he grumbled at,

hastily adding, "they might well be silent, as certainly their masters had no reason to be displeased."

General Dirom estimates, that after deducting the Company's share of the sum exacted from Tippoo, the extraordinary expenses of this war would scarcely amount to two millions sterling. Every department had been conducted with the strictest economy. Instead of the large grants that had accrued to individuals from the conquest of Bengal, the prize-money in three campaigns amounted only to £93,584, which, after Cornwallis and Medows had given up their shares, and the Company had added a large gratuity, only allowed to a colonel £1161, 12s., and to a private soldier £14, 11s. 9d. The losses sustained by the sultan during the period of hostility are estimated by the same author at 49,340 men, 67 forts, and 801 guns.

This celebrated treaty has been the subject of much controversy; nor do the views which influenced Lord Cornwallis seem ever to have been fully understood. It appears to have effected either too little or too much. The cessions extorted were such as to preclude all hope of future friendship; for they inevitably created in the mind of a proud, ambitious, and restless prince, a feeling of deadly enmity, as well as an incessant desire to retrieve his lost greatness; while they left him a degree of power which might easily become formidable in the hands of such an enemy.

Notwithstanding these unpromising circumstances, six years elapsed without any violation of the treaty; and all its conditions being fulfilled, the two young hostages were sent back to their father in 1794. Tippoo saw no prospect of making war with

advantage, and Sir John Shore, who succeeded as governor-general, followed a strictly pacific system, which he was even accused of carrying to excess. His policy was particularly questioned in the case of the nizam, when the Mahrattas, his late allies, carried into effect their long-cherished design of invading and plundering his territories. The engagements entered into with this prince previous to the commencement of the Mysore war, though somewhat vague, were such as reasonably led him, in that event, to look for British protection. The new governor, however, considered himself as strictly precluded by his instructions from engaging in any war that was not purely defensive. The nizam, in the exigency to which he was thus reduced, had recourse to a Frenchman named Raymond, who possessed no ordinary share of enterprise and military skill. He succeeded in alluring into the service of his employer a great number of French officers, and with their aid organized no less than 14,000 troops, who were superior to any native force, with the exception of the sepoys trained in the British army. Tippoo, meantime, was busily employed in attempting to improve his military system, though, from want of practical judgment and information, he met with very imperfect success.

Such was the state of affairs, when, in May, 1798, the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, came out as governor-general. This nobleman, whose military career was destined to eclipse that of Clive, was sent with the most solemn injunctions to follow a course directly opposite to that which, throughout the whole of his administration, he did actually pursue. He was instructed not

to engage, if possible, in hostilities with any native power; and yet he waged deadly war with every one of them. He was desired not to add by conquest a single acre to the Company's territory, and he subdued for them all India from the Himmaleh to Cape Comorin. Yet his adherents contend that he acted steadily and uniformly in the spirit of his instructions; and that, in deviating so widely from the wishes of his employers, he was carried along by a current of circumstances which existed prior to any step taken by him in the administration of that country.

He had no sooner assumed the reins of government, than his attention was roused by a most remarkable proceeding on the part of the Sultan of Mysore. That prince, like his father Hyder, had been long connected in close alliance with the French, as the power by whose aid he hoped to subvert the dominion of the English. This connexion was in a great measure broken by the expulsion of those allies from India upon the breaking out of the revolutionary war; but Tippoo had listened with the utmost eagerness to the accounts of their success against Britain and the continental nations, and had been led to hope for their assistance in the re-establishment of his own greatness. While he was in this disposition, in the beginning of the year 1797, Ripaud, the captain of a French privateer, arrived at Mangalore, to solicit the means of repairing his shattered vessel. There he met with Gholaum Ali, whom the sultan had formerly employed on an embassy to France; and, finding a field open for the display of a little vain-glory, he represented himself as second in command at the Mauritius, and stated that he had come to give notice of a large

force being ready at that island to co-operate with Tippoo in driving from India their common enemy. He was immediately forwarded to Seringapatam, where the sultan, contrary to the advice of his most prudent counsellors, who assured him that this stranger was an impostor, received him into his entire confidence. After a number of little arrangements and transactions, he sent two ambassadors along with Ripaud to the Isle of France, to adjust the terms of a treaty offensive and defensive. The mission arrived at Mauritius, where they were altogether unexpected; but when Malartic, the governor, learned their purpose, animated by that desire to promote national interests which generally characterizes Frenchmen, he determined to give them a cordial reception. They landed under a salute of artillery, and were conducted to the government-house, where they were received in state. Malartic expressed the utmost readiness to accede to the proposals of the sultan, which were no less than that he should send an army of 25 or 30,000 men to assist in conquering the English, the nizam, and the Mahrattas, and to divide all India with himself. The arrangement was fully completed, with the important exception that, of the powerful military force by which these mighty projects were to be accomplished, there did not exist a single soldier. All that could be done was to transmit the plan, accompanied with strong recommendations, to the Executive Directory; and, in the mean time, to invite as many as possible of the Frenchmen and natives resident on the island to enrol as volunteers. With the most palpable imprudence, the governor issued a proclamation, announcing the arrival of the ambassadors and the ob-

ject they had in view, and calling upon all the citizens who had any martial spirit to enlist under the banners of the Mysorean sovereign, who made the most liberal offers of pay and allowances. They thus succeeded in levying exactly ninety-nine persons,—a motley group,—Europeans, creoles, citizens, soldiers, sailors; and with this troop, for want of more and better, the ambassadors were fain to depart. They landed at Mangalore on the 26th April, 1798; when Tippoo, though galled at the utter disappointment of his expectations, and the rash exposure made at the Mauritius, had still the means of averting the danger. He might, indeed, have disowned the envoys, and refused their mock-auxiliaries, while, by secret explanations, he might at the same time have contrived to keep open the communication with France. But he seems to have been in a state of blind and violent excitation. The embassy, with their slender accompaniment, were welcomed to the capital, where they founded a Jacobin club, planted the tree of liberty surmounted with the cap of equality, and on the public parade hailed the sovereign as "Citizen Tippoo." In these republican forms the sultan cordially concurred, although wholly ignorant of their meaning; imagining them to be the badges of a mystic association, whose members were to devote themselves to his aggrandizement.

These proceedings were fully communicated to the governor-general, who immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors his decided opinion, that they were equivalent to "a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war," and that "an immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultan appear-

ed to be demanded by the soundest maxims both of justice and policy." These conclusions have been generally assented to by British officers and politicians; yet Mr Mill, with his usual anxiety to escape national partialities, has not hesitated to assert, that the above incidents afforded no ground of attacking, or even of dreading, Tippoo, beyond what previously existed. No doubt, it is said, could be entertained, ever since the last peace, of his deep hostility against the English, and his disposition to embrace any opportunity of regaining his lost territories. There was, we admit, the most reasonable presumption of the existence, in his mind, of such sentiments. Well-founded, however, as this suspicion was, the governor had no right to proceed upon it without some overt act; it being something very different from the positive conclusion of a treaty aiming directly at the destruction of the British power in India. It is argued, indeed, that this treaty, having been entered into without any means of fulfilling it, might safely have been regarded as nugatory, and altogether neglected. This reasoning does not seem conclusive, unless there had been some certainty that the sultan could not obtain the means of carrying into effect those hostile schemes in which he had so eagerly engaged. But it is well known that he could depend upon the co-operation of the greatest military power in the world, animated, too, with the most rancorous feeling against Britain, and peculiarly desirous to strike a blow against her in this very quarter. The only security lay in the dominion of the seas, which England had fully established; though experience has shown that no fleet, however triumphant, can her-

metically seal the ports of a great country, or even prevent a squadron from finding its way to the most distant regions. This had just been made evident, when the French, in the face of the British navy, had recently landed in Egypt a force sufficient to conquer it; an expedition, too, generally believed to be undertaken with an ultimate view to India. The dangers of a French invasion of that country were then, perhaps, generally overrated; now, after the event, they are probably underrated; for it seems highly probable, that the rulers of France, had they not been involved in a series of continental wars, would have attempted to transport a large army into the East,—and it is by no means certain that they would not have succeeded.

However decided might be the view taken by Lord Wellesley of this subject, he was not yet in a condition to commence open hostilities. Immediate attention was required to the strong corps formed under French officers at the capital of Hydrabad. Upon this point the governor-general determined to adopt the most decisive measures. Captain Kirkpatrick, resident at that court, was instructed to lay before the nizam the plan of an alliance, offensive and defensive, by which he was to be guaranteed against the attack of all his enemies. In support of this pledge, four English battalions, with a body of artillery, in addition to the two already stationed there, were to be sent to his capital; but he was informed that the corps under French command must be immediately dissolved, and the officers dismissed. The movement of a large body of troops to the frontier intimated that these propositions were not meant to be optional. The

nizam was involved in much doubt and perplexity. He is said to have been disgusted by the insolent and domineering conduct of the French officers; but he dreaded to see his country the theatre of a contest between the rival nations; still more, perhaps, he foresaw that, by the proposed arrangement, he would become completely the vassal of England. At length, on the 1st September, 1798, he signed the treaty, which was ratified at Calcutta on the 18th, and carried into effect with such expedition, that on the 10th October the new subsidiary force arrived at Hydrabad. The nizam relapsed into all his doubt and irresolution, and endeavoured to evade or delay every decisive step, till Colonel Roberts, the commander, cutting short all discussion, marched up to the French cantonments, and on the 22d formed a circle round them. The troops, at once dreading a contest with the English, and discontented on account of their arrears of pay, rose in mutiny against their officers; when, on being assured of the money due to them, and of future service under other leaders, they laid down their arms. Thus, in a few hours, without a blow being struck, was dissolved a corps of fourteen thousand men, having an arsenal filled with military stores, and a handsome train of artillery.

Lord Wellesley, having by these means secured the co-operation of the Hydrabad forces, and by indefatigable exertions having rendered his military establishment efficient, determined to bring affairs to an immediate crisis. His correspondence with Tippoo had continued friendly till the 8th November, 1798, when he wrote a letter in which, after discussing some general topics, he observed, that it was

impossible the sultan could suppose him ignorant or indifferent as to the intercourse maintained by him with the French, the inveterate foes of Britain. He and his allies had on that account been obliged to adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence. Anxious, however, to suggest a plan which might promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, he proposed to depute Major Doveton, an officer well known to the sultan (having been employed in 1794 in conveying back to him the young princes detained as hostages), "who will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself and to the allies of the Company to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion." On the 10th December the governor-general wrote another letter, announcing that he was on the point of setting out for Madras, where he hoped to receive his reply.

Tippoo, apparently before receiving the first despatch, had written, on the 20th November, an expostulation, in rather amicable terms, upon the military preparations of the English, and a profession of his own pacific disposition. The letter of 8th November was followed by a long and suspicious silence. The demands of the governor-general would, at this time, have been very moderate, confined to the dismissal of French emissaries, and the exchange of a part of the coast of Malabar for a territory of equal value in the interior. But Tippoo, who foresaw that some demands were to be made upon him, could not bring down his mind to the necessity of submission. He still placed a vague confidence in destiny, in the aid of the French, and in alliances which he hoped

to form with the northern powers of India. At length, on the 18th December, probably after receiving the despatch of the 10th, though he did not acknowledge it, he wrote a long explanatory letter. He represented the French affair as only the casual arrival of a party of strangers in search of employment, which he had granted to a few; and he expressed extreme surprise that there should be any idea of the interruption of mutual amity. Referring to the proposed mission of Major Doveton, he observed that "the treaties and engagements entered into were so firmly established and confirmed, as ever to remain fixed and durable, and be an example to the rulers of the age. I cannot imagine that means more effectual than these can be adopted for promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties." It seems impossible to consider Lord Wellesley's interpretation as strained, when he considered this letter as implying an absolute rejection of the mission of Major Doveton, and a determination against any concession beyond those made by former treaties.

In reply to the above, his lordship having arrived at Madras, wrote, on the 9th January, 1799, a long communication, fully explaining all his grounds of complaint. He gave a narrative of the transactions at the Isle of France, enclosing a copy of Malartic's proclamation, and finally inferred, that "his Highness' ambassadors had concluded an offensive alliance with the French against the Company and its allies; that they had demanded military succours and levied troops with a view to its prosecution; that his Highness had sanctioned the conduct of his ambassadors, and had received into his army the

troops which they had levied; that having made military preparations of his own, he was evidently ready, had the succours obtained been sufficient, to have commenced an unprovoked attack on the Company's possessions, and had broken the treaties of peace and friendship subsisting between him and the allies." Deeply regretting that the offered mission of Major Doveton had not been accepted, he still urged it as a means of conciliation, but earnestly requested that not above one day should elapse previous to its acceptance. On the 16th he wrote another letter, enclosing one to the sultan from the Grand Seignior, transmitted through Mr Spencer Smith, and also that monarch's declaration of war against the French. At this stage of the proceedings attempts were made to work upon the Mohammedan zeal of Tippoo, and to induce him to resent the attack made by that people upon the head of his religion; at the same time the reception of Major Doveton was again pressed. After a long silence, there arrived at Madras on the 13th February, 1799, without date, the following short and singular epistle:—

"I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your lordship's two friendly letters, the first brought by a camel-man, the last by hircarrahs, and understood their contents. The letter of the prince, in station like Jumsheid, with angels as his guards, with troops numerous as the stars; the sun illumining the world of the heaven of empire and dominion; the luminary giving splendour to the universe of the firmament of glory and power; the sultan of the sea and the land, the King of Room (the Grand Seignior), be his empire and his power perpetual! addressed to me, which reached you through

the British envoy, and which you transmitted, has arrived.—Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting-excursion. You will be pleased to despatch Major Doveton, about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written, slightly attended. Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters notifying your welfare."

This strange epistle might certainly have created a doubt whether it was not designed as an evasion, or even an insult. Yet Colonel Wilks afterwards learned from the Mysorean chiefs, that it was meant for a real consent, though somewhat forced and ungracious. The letter of the 9th January had fully opened Tippoo's eyes to his alarming situation. He was thrown into a state of violent suspense and agitation, venting imprecations against all who had been concerned in the mission to the Isle of France, and exclaiming, "the fractured mast of Ripaud's worthless vessel will cause the subversion of an empire." He made, however, a reluctant movement to the eastward, with the view of meeting Major Doveton. But Lord Wellesley considered the time as passed when such an arrangement could be advantageously admitted. The monsoon, which begins in June, would put a stop to military operations, so that to enter at present upon a tedious negotiation would enable Tippoo to gain a whole year, in the course of which he might hope to procure allies and reinforcements from various quarters. On receiving, therefore, no answer by the 3d of February, the governor-general had ordered the armies to advance; and on the arrival of the sultan's letter, he wrote to him on the 22d February, announcing that the mission of Major

Doveton could no longer be attended with the expected advantages; that his long silence had rendered it necessary to order the advance of the army; but that General Harris was empowered to receive any embassy, and to enter into any negotiation by which a treaty might be arranged, on such conditions as should appear to the allies indispensably necessary to the establishment of a secure and permanent peace. Tippoo, however, even before receiving this letter, either suspecting that his consent had not produced the intended effect, or moved by his own inconstant disposition, had determined to try the fortune of arms.

The army appointed to invade the kingdom of Mysore consisted of 4381 European and 10,695 native infantry; 884 European and 1751 native cavalry, with 608 artillery; forming in all 18,319 fighting-men, with 104 pieces of cannon, and 2483 lascars and pioneers. To these were added 10,157 infantry and 6000 horse belonging to the nizam, and which, under British command, now formed an effective body of troops. In the mean time, General Stuart, a veteran in Indian warfare, was advancing with 6420 men from Malabar to join and co-operate with the main army.

Tippoo, anxious to strike a blow at the commencement of the campaign, had the penetration to discern the advantage which he derived from the detached state of the invading armies proceeding from Malabar and Coromandel. He might thus attack the former, when it had just ascended the Ghauts, and taken a defensive position amid the hills and forests which enclose the territory of Coorg. By a rapid movement to the westward, he arrived

on the 5th March, 1799, very unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of that army. The English, who conceived that the main force of the enemy was still on the opposite side of India, were somewhat disunited. Colonel Stuart had stationed a corps under Colonel Montresor eight miles in advance, on the hill of Sedaseer, to observe any signal which might be made by the eastern army. Much surprise was felt when a number of tents appeared on the ground in front, which gradually swelled to several hundreds, and composed a formidable encampment. Among others, belonging apparently to chiefs of distinction, there was one very large and covered with green, which was concluded to be that of the sultan himself. Yet this was so contrary to all previous intelligence, that General Stuart merely reinforced the party on the hill with a battalion, and waited to act according to circumstances. At daybreak, General Hartley, from a height, discovered an appearance of activity among the opposite troops. It does not appear to us very clear why the commander did not immediately concentrate his forces, by either marching forward himself, or ordering the advance under Montresor to fall back. In fact, the Indian army penetrated through the jungle with such secrecy and expedition, that between nine and ten in the morning they had completely surrounded that officer's brigade, attacking it at once in front and rear. It maintained most gallantly an arduous conflict till after two o'clock, when General Stuart came up, and after a brisk charge obliged the enemy to retreat in all directions through the thicket. The advanced corps being immediately withdrawn, Tippoo had a pretence for claiming a victory; but the casualties on our

side, which amounted only to 29 killed, 98 wounded, and 16 missing, sufficiently showed that he had failed in his object of striking a decisive blow. Even by his own statement, his loss included several chiefs of rank. This was the last action in which Tippoo displayed his military genius. He effected a complete surprise, and the destruction of the English corps was averted only by its own extraordinary valour and the inferiority of the Indian troops in pitched battle.

The sultan hastened back to oppose the main army advancing against him from Coromandel. It might now have appeared evident that his only resource was, by recurring to the ancient military policy of his house, to throw a strong garrison into Seringapatam, to keep the field with large bodies of cavalry, and by continual movements to intercept the enemy's communications, cut off his supplies, and surprise his detachments. He might thus either have defended his capital, or have remained powerful after its fall. His plan, however, appears to have been to contend with the English, according to their own method, in regular warfare and by pitched battles. To this system he had been partial ever since Lord Cornwallis' first retreat after the battle fought in front of Seringapatam. But that battle Tippoo had lost; and the retreat had been occasioned solely by the want of supplies and equipments, produced by the desultory warfare previously waged. During the peace, his exertions had been directed to assimilate his force to a European army, and his success had been such as to render him an overmatch in the field for any of the native powers; but the cavalry, the instrument by which all the

triumphs of his family over the English were achieved, had been comparatively neglected.

The British army was now advancing into the heart of his dominions. The comprehensive mind of Marquis Wellesley instantly saw it to be his true policy not to detain himself with any secondary object, but to strike at once at Seringapatam, the reduction of which would be followed by the entire downfal of the sultan. All the English writers agree in stating, that no army could be in a higher state of equipment than that which took the field under General Harris; yet the march, though it did not encounter any serious resistance, was very slow. It passed the frontier only on the 5th, and made the first united movement on the 10th March, 1799, the time that had been fixed as the latest at which it ought to have arrived at the capital. Certain authors speak as if in this tardy progress there were some mystery which could never be developed; but the delay is perhaps sufficiently explained by the fact that he conveyed, by means of sixty thousand ill-trained oxen and careless drivers, several months' provisions for so great an army, and a battering-train to reduce a fortress, the fall of which was expected to bring with it that of the whole kingdom.

When the army had reached Malavilly, about thirty miles from the capital, the sultan's encampment was observed from the heights, and General Floyd, with the advance, having approached within a mile of that village, discovered their whole force posted on the elevated ground behind it. An attack being immediately determined on, it was led by Colonel Wellesley, supported by Floyd's cavalry, and directed against the enemy's right. A column

of their troops advanced in perfect order and with great gallantry; but the English infantry, reserving their fire, received that of their antagonists at the distance of sixty yards, rushed against the Mysoreans and broke their ranks, when General Floyd with the horse drove them off the field. The whole of the Indian line then gave way, and a general retreat ensued, which Harris, who was greatly inferior in cavalry and light troops, did not attempt to molest. The loss was not very serious on either side; but an additional proof was given how unable even the flower of the Eastern armies was to contend in pitched battle with the British.

Tippoo made another attempt to carry into effect his plan of desultory warfare. He had removed or destroyed all the forage, and almost every blade of grass on the highway between the English position and the capital; and he hovered round, ready to fall upon their rear, as they marched along this desolated route. But he was completely disappointed by the movement of General Harris, who after leaving Malavilly turned to the left, crossed the Cavery at the fords of Sosilla, and proceeded to Seringapatam along the southern bank of that river; a resolution which, being wholly unexpected, no precautions had been taken to defeat. On seeing their last scheme thus baffled, Tippoo and his principal officers were struck with deep dismay and despondence. Having assembled them in council, he said:—"We have arrived at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the universal reply. A unanimous resolution was formed to try again the fortune of the field, with the alternative only of

victory or death. All present were deeply affected; one of the chiefs, before taking leave, threw himself prostrate and clasped the feet of the sultan, the usual sign in India of the most solemn farewell. The emperor could not refrain from tears; his example quickly spread through the whole assembly; and they parted as men who had met for the last time in this world. But this final crisis had not yet arrived. Tippoo had expected that the English commander would proceed to the *eastern* extremity of the Island of Seringapatam, cross the branch of the Cavery that enclosed it, and establish himself on the ground formerly occupied by Lord Cornwallis. But General Harris chose to make a circuit, which would bring his army opposite to the western point of the island and fortress. He thus avoided the desolated tract prepared for him; opened a more ready communication with the Bombay army under General Stuart, and the fertile districts in the south; and, according to every report, expected on that side favourable opportunities for attack. This expedient also enabled him to avoid the station on which Tippoo had proposed to give battle; and that chief, thwarted in all his measures, threw himself into Seringapatam, with the resolution of defending it to the last extremity.

On the 5th April, the British took their station opposite the western front of the fortress, at the distance of about two miles. The position was strong; their right resting on elevated ground, their left upon the river Cavery; and several *topes*, or groves of Indian trees, afforded ample materials fort he construction of the works. The enemy still occupied a defensive line behind an aqueduct, on which Colo-

nels Wellesley and Shawe made a night-attack and were repulsed; but, being reinforced, they carried it in open day. General Floyd was detached to meet and escort General Stuart and the Bombay army. On the evening of the 13th, their signal-guns were heard; and they arrived late on the 14th, having been beset on their way by the whole body of the Mysorean cavalry, yet without sustaining any serious loss. General Floyd then marched to the southward in search of supplies. An unexpected and alarming discovery had been made, that there was grain in the camp for only eighteen days' consumption. This extraordinary failure, into which Colonel Wilks mysteriously says, that after the lapse of eighteen years it was not yet time to inquire, did not, however, as supplies were obtained from various quarters, prove an impediment to the progress of the siege.

Meantime deep deliberation had been held as to the point whence the fortress might be most advantageously attacked. There was a south-western angle, by assailing which the besiegers could have obtained a lodgement on the island, and been thereby secured from the expected swelling of the Cavery, while at the furthest west, the walls, extending along the very brink of the river, could be reached only by crossing its channel. The fortifications at the first point, however, appeared both strong and complicated; while the most western angle projected beyond the main body of the building, and was not duly flanked or protected by the other defences. Besides, while regularly attacked from the south, it could be enfiladed from the northern bank of the Cavery. The river, too, evidently appeared fordable,

as both men and cattle were seen passing without difficulty; and it was confidently expected that before the monsoon had swelled its waters, the campaign would be over. In pursuance of these views, General Stuart crossed to the northern bank; and notwithstanding some vigorous resistance, and one very brisk sally by the garrison, succeeded in gaining a position in which he could effectually co-operate with the main attack.

On the 9th April, Tippoo wrote a letter to General Harris, in which he merely asked why the English had entered his country, and made war upon him contrary to subsisting treaties, which he had never violated. The general in return briefly referred him to the letters of Marquis Wellesley, which put an end to the correspondence. Colonel Wilks, who usually lets us into the interior of the Mysore councils, leaves us here in the dark as to the views and feelings by which the Indian chief was actuated. Meantime the trenches had been opened, and the works proceeded regularly and rapidly. On the 20th and 26th, two strongly-intrenched posts, which guarded the approaches to the wall, were carried by attacks under the direction, the one of Colonel Sherbrooke and the other of Colonel Wellesley. Before the second of these actions, the sultan, seeing his defences successively fall, and the siege quickly advancing to its termination, resolved again to solicit a treaty, though sensible it must be purchased with extensive sacrifices. He wrote, referring to the letters of the governor-general, and proposing a conference of ambassadors. General Harris, in reply, after taking a view of recent events, announced, as the positive ultimatum, the cession of half his

dominions, the payment of two crores of rupees, one immediately, and another in six months; finally, the delivery of four of his sons, and four of his principal chiefs as hostages. These conditions were to be accepted in twenty-four hours, and the hostages and specie delivered in twenty-four more; otherwise he reserved the right of extending these demands, till they should include even the provisional occupation of Seringapatam.

These terms, certainly not favourable, roused in the proud mind of Tippoo a violent burst of indignation. He raved against the arrogance and tyranny of the English, and declared his determination to abide the worst decrees of fate, and rather to die with arms in his hands, than drag a wretched life as a dependant upon infidels, and swelling the list of their pensioned rajahs and nabobs; he resolved, in short, not to give a reply. But six days afterwards, when the parallel had been completed, and nothing remained except the erection of the breaching-batteries, he again brought down his mind to the attempt to gain either delay or mitigation in the conditions of the treaty. A communication was received from him on the 28th, acknowledging the letter of General Harris as a friendly one, but adding, that as the points in question were weighty and not to be concluded without the intervention of ambassadors, he proposed to send two vakeels, or confidential messengers, to treat upon the subject. The general, however, was fully determined not to admit any such overture. In his reply he claimed credit for not making an advance on the terms already proposed, when by non-compliance they had been virtually declined. They were still offered; but no am-

bassadors could be admitted, unless accompanied by the hostages and the treasure; and the time during which they would be received was to terminate next day at three o'clock. On perusing this answer, the energies of Tippoo's mind seemed entirely to fail. Yielding to despair and grief rather than rage, he sunk into a state of stupor, alternating with paroxysms of extravagant and groundless exultation. He no longer took any steady view of his danger, or rationally followed out the means by which it might still have been averted.

At sunset, on the 28th, the place was marked out for the breaching-batteries; and, as they were only four hundred yards from the wall, no doubt was entertained of their speedily effecting their purpose. Two, of six and of five guns, were erected, seventy yards distant from each other; but as only one could be completed by the morning of the 30th, its fire was directed, not against the spot intended to be breached, which it was not desirable the enemy should yet know, but against the adjoining bastion, whose fire might have taken the assailants in flank. Enfilading-batteries were also constructed, which were expected to render it impossible for the enemy to remain on the walls during the assault. On the 2d May, the two breaching-batteries were completed, and opened their full fire upon the part of the wall called the curtain. In the course of that day the works sustained extensive damage, and in twenty-four hours the breach became nearly practicable; in which view fascines, scaling-ladders, and other implements of storm, were brought into the trenches. During the previous night Lieutenant Lalor had crossed the river, which he found easily

fordable, with a smooth rocky bottom, the retaining-wall of the fortress being only seven feet high, and presenting no obstacle whatever to the passage of troops. On the night of the 3d there was a practicable breach of a hundred feet wide, and one o'clock on the following day was fixed as the hour of assault.

Tippoo meantime, as the term of his life and empire approached, instead of employing the usual means of deliverance from this extreme peril, occupied himself only in superstitious and delusive modes of prying into futurity. He had recourse, in his despair, even to the hated and persecuted Bramins. They were instructed to practise, at immense cost, their wild and mystic incantations. All the astrologers, whether from hostile feelings to the sultan, or from seeing that their credit could not otherwise be supported, announced the most imminent danger; prescribing, however, some absurd ceremonies and oblations by which it might possibly be averted. Under their directions he went through a solemn ablution, offered a pompous sacrifice, and steadily contemplated his face reflected in a jar of oil. Somewhat reassured by these sage precautions, and persuading himself that no attempt would be made during that day, he had sat down to his forenoon meal, when tidings arrived that the enemy were scaling the ramparts. He ran to meet them.

The morning of the fourth day of May, 1799, had been busily spent by the English in completing the breach and making preparations for the assault. The storming-party was composed of upwards of 4000 men, divided into two columns, who were instructed, after entering the breach, to file to the right and left along the top of the rampart. The

command was intrusted to General Baird, who had been nearly four years immured as a captive in the gloomy dungeons of that fortress which he was now about to enter as a conqueror. The troops, in silent and awful expectation, awaited the decisive moment. A few minutes before one o'clock, General Baird sent round orders, desiring every man to be ready at an instant's notice. When the crisis came, he mounted the parapet, and stood in full view of both armies, in an heroic attitude, heightened by his noble and commanding figure. He then said, "Come, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers." Both columns sprung forward like lightning; and seven minutes had not elapsed when the foremost assailants had crossed the river, leaped over the ditch, mounted the breach, and planted their colours on its summit. They were met by a gallant band of Mysoreans, from whose attack they suffered severely; but the breach was soon crowded with British soldiers, who overcame every obstacle, and established themselves on the rampart. Then, according to the orders received, they pushed on to the right and left, along the top of the wall. The right detachment being supported by a powerful enfilading-fire from the batteries, drove before them the enemy, who scarcely made any resistance, flying out of the fort in great numbers, —and many, letting themselves drop from the wall by their turbans, were dashed against the rocky bottom and killed. The English thus cleared the whole of the southern rampart, and arrived at the eastern, where their advanced guard came in view of the palace.

The left column, meantime, encountered much more serious obstacles. On reaching the top of the wall they discovered, to their surprise, a deep ditch separating it from an inner rampart, where the enemy, in great force, kept up a destructive fire. The garrison at this point, too, animated by the arrival of the sultan in person, gallantly defended successive traverses, formed across the path of the assailants. The situation of the latter became critical; all the commissioned officers who led the attack were either killed or wounded; and Lieutenant Farquhar, having assumed the command, fell immediately, and was succeeded by Brigade-major Lambton. Meantime, Captain Goodall, with a detachment from the right, had forced his way over the ditch, seized the inner rampart, and commenced upon the enemy a flanking-fire similar to that with which they had so severely annoyed his countrymen. The Mysoreans were accordingly driven to a spot where they beheld in their rear the other column which had advanced from the right. Seeing themselves thus completely hemmed in, they fled tumultuously, escaping by every possible outlet from the fortress, which was thus left completely in the hands of the besiegers.

General Baird, meantime, after the triumphant success of the right column, had allowed his troops an interval of rest, when certain officers brought notice that they had discovered the palace, and seen, in a species of durbar or court, a number of persons assembled, several of whom appeared to be of high consideration. The commander immediately directed Major Allan, who seems to have been well qualified for this delicate task, to summon them to an immediate surrender, in order to avert the calami-

ties that would be inevitable were the royal residence to be taken by storm. This officer, on going towards the palace, saw several persons in a sort of balcony, to whom he announced his message. They manifested the greatest consternation, and soon brought the killedar, or governor, who appeared much embarrassed, and endeavoured to gain time; but the major insisted upon entering, with two other officers, by a broken part of the wall. He found a terrace, on which there was a numerous assemblage of armed men, before whom he laid his conditions, and laboured to tranquillize their minds, not only by presenting a white flag, but by placing his sword in their hands. They appeared alarmed and irresolute, positively declaring that Tippoo was not in the palace, though his family and two of his sons were; but, on the major's urging the necessity of speedy decision, they withdrew as if for consultation. Persons were observed moving hastily backward and forward through the palace, in a manner that caused some anxiety; but Major Allan, fearing to excite suspicion or betray any symptom of doubt, declined the advice of his companions to take back his sword. At length, on his urgent solicitation, he was admitted to see the princes, whom he found seated on a carpet, surrounded by numerous attendants. "The recollection," says Major Allan, "of Moiza-Deen, who on a former occasion I had seen delivered up, with his brother, hostages to Marquis Cornwallis,—the sad reverse of their fortunes,—their fear, which, notwithstanding their struggles to conceal it, was but too evident,—excited the strongest emotions of compassion in my mind. I took Moiza-Deen by the hand, and endeavoured by every mode in my

'power to remove his fears." This prince concurred with the others in giving assurance that the *padsha* was not in the palace,—and, on the urgent representation of the British officers, he agreed, with strong reluctance, that the gate should be thrown open. General Baird had already approached with a large body of troops, and instantly sent back the major with Colonel Close to bring out the princes. After much alarm, and many objections, these young persons allowed themselves to be conducted into the presence of the British commander. The general was greatly irritated, from having just heard that thirteen prisoners had been murdered during the siege; and his feelings were probably heightened by the recollection of his own sufferings in the same place; but, when he saw these unfortunate youths led out as captives, every harsher sentiment yielded to that of pity, and he gave them the most solemn assurances that they had nothing to fear. They were escorted to the camp with arms presented, and all the honours due to their rank.

General Baird's object being now to obtain possession of the person of the sultan, he proceeded, with a body of troops, to make the most diligent search in every corner of the palace. He forbore, indeed, to enter the zenana, but strictly guarded every passage by which any one could leave it. No trace of the individual he sought could any where be found; till at length, by severe threats, a confession was extorted from the killedar, that his master was lying wounded, as he supposed, in a gateway, to which he offered to conduct the British commander. The latter immediately accompanied him to the spot, where he beheld a mournful spectacle: it

was here that the fiercest combat had raged; the wounded and dead were lying piled in heaps over each other; while the darkness which had just fallen rendered the scene still more dismal. It was indispensable, however, immediately to ascertain the fact; torches were brought, and the bodies successively removed till they discovered the sultan's horse, then his palanquin, and beneath it a wounded man, who was soon recognised as a confidential servant, and who pointed out the spot where his master had fallen. The body was found, and forthwith identified by the killedar and the other attendants. The features were in no degree distorted, but presented an aspect of stern composure; the eyes were open, and the appearance of life was so strong, that Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan could not, for some time, believe him actually dead. It appears that, after having issued armed from the palace, with a band of trusty followers, he saw the English advancing along the rampart, and his men flying. He rallied them by the utmost efforts of his voice and example, shooting several of the enemy with his own hand; and he thus called forth that resistance which had proved so formidable. At length, when the determined valour of the British troops prevailed against all opposition, he was left at one time almost alone, and obliged to accompany the fugitives; but, with a few resolute adherents, he maintained the combat, till, being exposed to a fire from different quarters, he received two musket-balls in the side. His horse was killed under him; and, becoming faint with loss of blood, he was unable to make his way through the crowd. He was overtaken by a party of the conquerors, when one

of his attendants besought him, as the only means of saving his life, to make himself known; but he peremptorily forbade the disclosure. An English soldier then made an attempt to detach his sword-belt, when the sultan, with all his remaining strength, made a cut at the man, and wounded him near the knee. The soldier presently fired a ball, which entered the temple; and the wound proved speedily mortal. The body was carried to the palace, and was afterwards interred, with royal honours, in the splendid sepulchre of the Lâll Baug, erected by Hyder.

Thus terminated a dynasty, which, though short, and limited in respect of territorial dominion, was undoubtedly the most vigorous and best organized of any that had sprung out of the wreck of the Mogul empire. It arose, indeed, from the distracted state of India, and rested almost entirely on the personal character of its two rulers, the qualities of whose minds, striking though dissimilar, we have had repeated occasion to describe. It may be farther noticed, however, that, while Hyder entered on his career unable to read or write, and remained always a stranger to these primary elements of human knowledge, Tippoo, amid the most active cares of government, retained the habits and character of a man of letters. He read and wrote almost incessantly, carried on an extensive correspondence, and became the historian of his own exploits. Yet the adoption of hasty and superficial theories, in preference to the practical good sense which had guided his predecessor, led him often into crude and rash innovations, which were followed by disastrous consequences. The absolute indifference with which the subject of religion was viewed

by Hyder, though marking a degraded state of moral feeling, induced him in his administration to adopt the wise measure of general toleration. Tippoo's mind, on the contrary, was occupied, and almost engrossed by his Mussulman zeal, which became the chief source of his crimes and follies. He fancied himself a sort of militant apostle, who was to spread his faith over the world. Combining this design with his projects of ambition, he waged sacred wars on every side; against the Nazarene English, against the Bramin Mahrattas, against the Pagan and licentious nayrs. Ultimately, as we have seen, he sunk into the most childish superstition, calling not only upon the Mohammedans, but the persecuted Hindoos, to practise their arts of divination. After the capture of Seringapatam, when his repositories were searched, along with treaties, state-papers, and political correspondence, there was found a record of his dreams and their interpretation, of which Colonel Beatson has preserved some curious specimens. At one time, when he was threatened with an invasion of the Mahrattas, he dreamt that a young man came up and accosted him, who in the course of conversation proved to be a female. Hence he sagely inferred that his enemy, who at first had a manly and formidable appearance, would in battle prove no better than women. On another occasion, when he was about to make war with the native Christians, he was favoured with the vision of a cow and a calf, the former resembling a tiger in aspect and fierceness; it had a slight motion in its fore-legs, but no hind-legs. Tippoo resolved to kill this cow, but awoke before he accomplished his purpose. Hence, however, he thought himself entitled to infer, that

he would kill the Christians as he had proposed to kill the cow; that the slight movement of the fore-legs indicated faint attempts at resistance, while the absence of the hinder-legs proved that they would have no alliances to support them. These lucubrations form a strange contrast to his display of talent on other occasions; nor can it be wondered that public measures resting upon such conclusions should not always have proved very prosperous.

This prince, owing to his long wars with the English, his cruel treatment of the captives, and the imbittered enmity which he manifested, was regarded by them almost as a monster in human shape. Yet when their armies penetrated into the interior of his kingdom, they found it flourishing, highly cultivated, and seemingly well governed. His people always showed a strong attachment to him, and the inhabitants of the ceded districts were ever ready to embrace his cause. But to the conquered nations he was at all times a cruel master, and rendered himself the object of their inextinguishable hatred; to which cause his downfal may, in a great measure, be attributed. It has been said, with the general approbation of British authors, that "Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one;" yet it may be observed, that he maintained a complete ascendency over all the native states, some of whom had matched, and even over-matched his father. He fell beneath the English power, employed on a scale, and wielded with an ability, of which, in the course of Indian history, there had been no example.

Mysore, having been thus completely conquered, remained, as to its future arrangements, entirely at the disposal of the British government. The Mah-

rattas had taken no share in the expedition, and the nizam would be obliged to content himself with whatever the victors might choose to give. The governor-general took for the Company, in full sovereignty, the coast of Canara, the district of Coimbetoor, the passes of the Ghauts, and Seringapatam itself, the capital and main channel of intercourse. He thus secured the whole seacoast, and an easy communication across the peninsula. To the nizam was assigned a large tract of territory adjoining to his dominions. Another portion was reserved for the purpose of being offered to the Mahrattas, on conditions which, however, as will be hereafter seen, they did not choose to accept. There remained yet an extensive district in the interior of Mysore, which Marquis Wellesley judged most expedient not to partition, but to form it into a native kingdom under the protection and control of Britain. The question then arose, as to the prince in whom the supreme dignity was to be vested. The governor-general would not have been disinclined to bestow it on one of the family of Tippoo; but he justly considered, that the recollection of the recent greatness of their house must have rendered them always hostile to the power by whom its downfal had been achieved. It appeared, therefore, more advisable, after making a liberal provision for these princes, to draw forth from their deep humiliation the ancient race of the Rajahs of Mysore, to whom the people were still fondly attached. The representative of this house, a minor of five years old, and his mother, were found in great poverty and neglect; from which, amid the applauses of their countrymen, they were raised to the splendour and to some share of the power of Asiatic royalty.

CHAPTER IV.

Mahratta War and Conquest of Central Indostan.

Great Power of the Mahrattas—Shao succeeds as Rajah—Able Administration of Ballajee Wishwanath—Bajee Rao succeeds—Rise of Holkar and Sindia—Great Power of the Peishwa—Reduction of the Pirate Angria—Madoo Rao becomes Peishwa—His able Government—Ragoba—He is expelled by the Ministers—Forms an Alliance with the Government of Bombay—Keating's Expedition—Proceedings at Bombay disallowed—Treaty—War renewed—March against Poonah—Shameful Capitulation—Campaign of General Goddard—Exploits of Popham and Camac—Mahrattas allied with Britain—Increased Power of Mahadajee Sindia—His Death—Death of Madoo Rao—Various Intrigues—Jealousies of Britain—Dissensions of Sindia and Holkar—Defeat of Sindia and the Peishwa—Subsidiary Alliance with Britain—Opening of the Campaign—General Wellesley enters Poonah—Negotiations with Sindia and the Rajah of Berar—Hostilities commenced—Battle of Assaye—Of Argaom—Siege of Gawilghur—Treaty with Rajah of Berar—Force of the Enemy in Central Indostan—Battle of Coel—Capture of Alighur—Reduction of Delhi—The Mogul Emperor—Final Defeat of the Enemy—Treaty with Sindia—Rupture with Holkar—Retreat of Colonel Monson—Siege of Delhi—Defeats sustained by Holkar—Siege of Bhurtpore—Repulse of the English—Treaty—Hostile Conduct of Sindia—New System of Policy in Britain—Marquis Cornwallis comes out as Governor-General—Dies, and is succeeded by Sir George Barlow—Treaties with Sindia and Holkar—Lord Minto's Administration.

In prosecuting, without interruption, the train of British conquest in Southern India, we have lost sight of the Mahrattas, unless in respect to their relations with the government of Mysore. The read-

er, however, will recollect the steps by which that people raised themselves on the decline of the Mogul empire, and became the most powerful instrument in its overthrow. They would even have occupied its place had they not encountered the more regular and formidable armies of the Afghans, from whom they sustained two such mighty defeats as would have annihilated any force which did not possess in itself a strong principle of vitality. But they soon recruited their strength out of the warlike and roving population of their mountain-districts; and as the Afghans did not attempt a permanent establishment in Indostan, the Mahrattas acquired again a decided preponderance among the native states of India. Only Mysore, in the height of its greatness, for a short time disputed their supremacy; but when that throne was first shaken, and then subverted, the foreign power by which this triumph had been achieved became the only rival to the Mahrattas; and the question soon arose, which of the two was to rule the Southern Peninsula. Before coming to the grand struggle, however, some internal movements of this government, and some previous transactions with the English presidencies, will demand our notice.

Sevajee had ruled with nearly absolute power over his rude followers, and the reverence cherished for his name enabled him to transmit the Mahratta sceptre to his posterity. But princes born to a throne were little likely to possess the active and daring hardihood necessary for treading in the steps of such a progenitor. Indulging in ease and voluptuousness, they gradually intrusted the arduous concerns of government and war to their mini-

sters and generals. Then followed a consequence almost inevitable in oriental systems: The minister, or still more the general, in whose hands the actual administration was lodged, and who had the disposal of all favours and offices, soon became the depositary of the real power, whom the sovereign would have sought in vain to displace, being in fact his master and that of the kingdom. Yet a certain reverence attached to the original race, and the recollections connected with the history of its founder, would have made it unsafe actually to depose the legitimate rajah. It was much easier and safer to maintain him in ease and luxury, as a splendid pageant, deprived of all real authority; which was in truth exercised in his name by the individual who presided in the council or army.

This consummation, which always took place in two or three generations, was, in the case now before us, precipitated by a remarkable accident. At the capture of Rayree, in 1690, by the troops of Aurengzebe, the grandson of Sevajee and his mother fell into the hands of the conquerors. They were carried to the Mogul country, where Begum Sahib, the emperor's daughter, took an interest in the young and illustrious captive, and obtained permission to educate him under her own eye. Aurengzebe, in visiting his daughter, saw and contracted a fondness for the youth, whom, instead of his proper name of Sevajee, he used to address by that of Shao, which alluded, in an ironical manner, to the thievish vocation of his ancestors. He married him successively to the daughters of two considerable chiefs of his own nation, and celebrated his nuptials by rich presents, among which was the

sword of his father, taken in his capital, and distinguished in the East under the name of Bhowanee.

After the death of Aurengzebe, Shao remained with that emperor's son, Azim, who, wishing to excite divisions in the Mahratta nation, then carrying on a furious predatory warfare against the Moguls, sent home the young prince. During his absence the regency had been held by his cousin, Rajah Rama, and afterwards by the widow of that officer, Tara Bye, who felt exceedingly inclined to continue in the exercise of her high functions; but the people retained such an attachment to the direct line of Sevajee, that she was obliged to give way, and Shao, in March 1708, was seated on the throne of his ancestors. During a long reign he displayed some ability, and did not absolutely sink from his place as a sovereign; yet the debilitating influence of hereditary succession was heightened by his education in the heart of the Mogul seraglio. He soon discovered a lively taste for pleasure, and a disposition to devolve on others the burdensome cares of government. Fortunately for himself, or at least for the greatness of the state, he placed his chief confidence in Ballajee Wishwanath. This future head of the Mahratta confederacy occupied originally an inferior situation in the revenue; and at his first rise had so little of the adventurous character of his tribe, that he could not sit upon horseback without a man on each side to support him. His consummate talents and address, however, soon raised him to high consideration with Shao, whose object was rather to re-establish order, and cement his power by a conciliatory system, than to lead his countrymen in their predatory campaigns. By a most able negotiation, this minister extricated his

master from a quarrel with Angria, and induced that powerful chief to own his supremacy. Shao was so highly pleased with him on this occasion, that he raised him to the dignity of *peishwa*, usually translated general; but which, embracing as it did all the branches of administration, seems to have had more analogy to the office of vizier in the Ottoman empire. Ballajee soon engrossed the whole power, and ruled wisely and ably, but rather as a legislator than a warrior. He contrived, by ties of common interest, to unite together the somewhat discordant and turbulent elements of which the Mahratta confederacy was composed, and to fit them for those united efforts that afterwards rendered them so formidable. He introduced order into the finances, encouraged agriculture, and reduced all the branches of administration into a regular system.

After a brief government of six years, which, however, was found sufficiently long to effect these important objects, Ballajee died in October 1720, leaving two sons, the eldest of whom, Bajee Rao or Row, had been trained under his own eye both to business and arms, and had proved himself in the former equal, in the latter superior, to his parent and preceptor. He urged his master to much bolder schemes of ambition than had occupied the views of Wishwanath. He pointed out the Mogul empire, in which all the Indian ideas of greatness were centred, reduced now to such a state of weakness and disunion, that it presented an easy prey to the first bold assailant. Shao, though not personally a soldier, was dazzled by these prospects of dominion, and gave his entire sanction to the designs of his minister. The peishwa, however, disturbed

by domestic rivalry, and involved in a contest with the nizam, or Subahdar of the Deccan, could not for some years follow up his views of aggrandizement. Having at length assembled his forces, and begun his march to the main seat of Mogul power, he was seized with a sudden illness, and died on the banks of the Nerbudda in 1740, after holding his high office for nineteen years. Under him two chiefs, Holkar and Sindia, who, with their posterity, were destined to dispute the sovereignty of Indostan, rose from very low stations into considerable importance. The former, a Mahratta of the class of Sudra or labourers, had, by his military talents and spirit, collected a small party of horse, with which he attached himself to the army of the peishwa. Sindia, though claiming descent from a family of the high-born tribe of Rajpoots, belonged to a decayed and illegitimate branch, and had sunk so low that he began his career by carrying the peishwa's slippers; yet, by the diligence and dexterity with which he executed this menial function, he attracted the notice of that commander, and laid the foundation of his own greatness. These two chiefs, having distinguished themselves by several military exploits, rose gradually, till at length they were intrusted with separate commands. Favoured by the general propensity of the Hindoos to obey only their immediate superiors, they subsequently acquired an independent political power.

The office of peishwa was now nearly established as hereditary, and the eldest son of Bajee Rao, who prefixed to his father's name that of Ballajee, after some opposition from Raghojee Bhonslay, another aspirant, succeeded to this high sta-

tion. The disputes with this last chieftain, however, and other occurrences, suspended the design of subverting the imperial throne. The ordinary exaction of chout, or a fourth of the tribute, was stipulated to be paid by the Mogul, while Raghojee made the most desolating inroads into Bengal. In 1749 Shao died, when the dignity of rajah, which had been in some degree maintained by his personal character as well as his descent from Sevajee, sank into total insignificance. Ballajee even intended to suppress it altogether, especially as there was some doubt as to the legitimacy of the young prince nominated to the succession; but after some consideration he determined to preserve, though with reduced state and expense, this shadow of royalty. His measures were strenuously opposed by Suckwar Bye, the favourite wife of the late rajah; but that lady, among other manœuvres, had rashly announced an intention to devote herself to the flames on the death of her husband. The peishwa contrived, even while apparently dissuading her from fulfilling this design, to bring it before her family and the public in such a manner as made it impossible for her, according to Indian ideas, to avoid this dreadful sacrifice. Having gained over Raghojee Bhonslay, and transferred the seat of government from Satara to Poonah, the peishwa became the sole and undisputed head of the Mahratta confederation. For several years he was involved in foreign connexions, the wars and politics of the Deccan and Carnatic, and the reduction of the piratical power of Angria. The last of these objects gave rise to certain achievements of a memorable description, in which the English bore the most conspicuous part.

The coast of the Concan, between Bombay and Goa, which belongs to the Mahratta territory, has always been the seat of tribes who exercised in piratical expeditions those predatory habits which elsewhere impelled them to inroads by land. In the middle of the seventeenth century, during the first rise of the Mahrattas, and while they were carrying on a maritime war with the Mogul, one of their officers, Conajee Angria, conceived the design of founding an independent kingdom. He was greatly aided by the natural barrier of precipitous rocks, which along this coast rises out of the sea, like the hill-forts from the Indian plain. On the two insulated cliffs of Gheria and Severndroog reigned this chief and his successors of the same name, where they became more and more formidable, till at length they felt themselves able to cope with the greatest European powers, and even aspired to the dominion of the Indian Seas. They made many valuable captures from different nations, who, through dread of their power, could not proceed along these coasts without a convoy. In February 1754, a Dutch squadron of three ships, carrying 50, 36, and 18 guns respectively, was attacked, and the whole either burned or taken. The British then considered themselves called upon to take vigorous steps for putting down this growing and dangerous power; and the Mahrattas willingly afforded their co-operation. In March 1755, Commodore James sailed with a squadron against Severndroog, where Angria's fleet was stationed; but his ships, on the approach of the enemy, slipped their cables and ran out to sea. They were of light construction, and the crews, by fastening to flag-staves their robes, quilts,

and even turbans, caught every breath of wind, and completely outsailed the English. The commodore then steered for the place itself, which was found to consist of several forts on the island and opposite coast, the works of which were either cut out of the solid rock, or strongly framed of blocks ten or twelve feet square. By throwing in bombs, however, which blew up a large magazine, and caused a general conflagration in the principal stronghold, he spread such an alarm, that the inhabitants and garrison successively evacuated the different stations. Rear-Admiral Watson having arrived with a much larger fleet, proceeded to the attack of Gheria, the capital, which Colonel Clive undertook to blockade on the land side. On the 11th February 1756, the ships took their stations, and next day opened so tremendous a fire, that the batteries were soon silenced. On the 13th the enemy delivered up the town, solely, as it appeared, through terror at this overwhelming discharge of artillery; for the fortifications, constructed of solid rock and huge blocks of stone, were of such strength, that no weight of metal could ever have effected a breach. The treasure, ships, guns, and every thing constituting the strength of this piratical state, fell into the hands of the victorious squadron.

The influence of the Mahratta confederation continued constantly to increase. Sindia and Holkar, on the invitation of the Nabob of Oude, had crossed the Jumna, and invaded the Rohilla territory, which they soon overran, but were obliged to retire on the approach of the Afghan monarch. But it was not till 1760 and 1761 that those grand expeditions were undertaken, which promised at first to make

them masters of the Mogul throne, and extend their dominion over the whole of India. Having called forth, however, the strength of Ahmed Abdalla, they experienced those signal overthrows, particularly in the battle of Panniput, which we have already noticed in tracing the fall of that empire. The tidings of that fatal day filled all Maharashtra with mourning. The disaster pressed with peculiar weight on Ballajee Rao, who, having suffered for some time under declining health, fell a victim to grief, and died in June 1761.

The office of peishwa was now become quite hereditary, and Madoo Rao, son of the deceased, was immediately elevated to that distinguished rank, under the regency of his uncle, Ragonaut Rao. This chief, afterwards well known to the English under the familiar name of Ragoba, had already acquired considerable military reputation. Four years, however, had not elapsed, when the young peishwa showed a power and decision of character, which fitted him for executing in person the duties of his exalted station. In 1764 and 1765 he undertook his celebrated expedition against Hyder, the triumphant issue of which displayed at once his own abilities, and the almost inexhaustible resources of his military system. He carried on also, chiefly through the agency of his general Trimbuck Mama, the other enterprise against Hyder, which is mentioned in the history of that prince. Finally, towards the close of his reign, the peishwa again undertook to establish the Mahratta supremacy in the very centre of Mogul power. A great army under Sindia overran Rohilcund, and Shah Allum, who inherited the mighty name of Great Mogul, having exchanged the protection of

the English for that of the Mahrattas, enabled this people to seize all that was left of the power which had so long been held supreme over India.

Madoo Rao made very considerable improvements in the different branches of government, especially in the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice. He could not extirpate the corruption which is deeply rooted in Hindoo politics; but he studiously afforded protection to agriculture, which, allowing for the inferior fertility of the country, was then more flourishing in Maharashtra than in any other part of Indostan. The revenue drawn from the people is estimated by Mr Grant Duff at ten millions sterling, of which, however, little more than seven entered the treasury. The army consisted of 50,000 good cavalry, which, with the contingents of Sindia, Holkar, and other feudatory chiefs, might raise it to 100,000. They were followed to the field by crowds of irregular infantry, who were little better than camp-followers, and by bands of Pindaree horse, fit only for plunder, but very eminently skilled in that vocation.

Madoo Rao died in 1772 without issue, and was succeeded by his next brother, Narrain Rao, a youth not more than seventeen. He was placed in a difficult situation: The office of peishwa, after having crushed beneath it that of rajah, was itself beginning to lose its unity and force. His uncle, Ragoba, was not likely to view without jealousy the elevation of so young a rival; while a body of experienced ministers, trained under successive peishwas to a thorough acquaintance with the affairs of state, were beginning to aim at the supreme direction. In these circumstances, a temporary and apparent

calm was followed by a dreadful commotion. On the morning of the 30th August 1773, Narrain Rao, having observed some unusual agitation among the troops, desired one of the ministers to be on the alert; but the warning was neglected. The unfortunate prince had gone in the afternoon to repose in a private chamber, when a band of soldiers burst by an obscure entrance into the palace. They at first pretended that they came to demand arrears of pay, about which they had for some time been clamouring; but it soon appeared that they were impelled by a darker purpose. Narrain Rao, roused from slumber, ran into his uncle's apartments, and threw himself into his arms, entreating that he would save him. The latter at first appeared to interpose in favour of his nephew; but Somer Sing, the ringleader, said,—"I have not gone thus far to ensure my own destruction; let him go, or you shall die with him." Ragoba then extricated himself from the grasp of the youth, whom, as well as a faithful servant that had clung round his neck, the conspirators instantly pierced with their swords.

All eyes were turned to Ragoba, as the person by whom alone this crime must have been suggested. For some time no proof could be obtained, till Ram Sastree, one of the most respectable and upright of the ministers, having collected various evidences, brought the charge so home to him, that he at length confessed he had signed the order to seize the person of his nephew, but denied having in any degree sanctioned his death. A numerous body of Indian politicians still believe that such was the truth, and that a more criminal hand made an al-

teration in the writing, of which traces were asserted to be visible. In these cases, however, the strong feelings of the public always adopt the darker belief; yet Ragoba mounted without opposition the throne to which he had thus paved the way, and soon after departed on an expedition against Hyder, who was in the field attempting to regain some of the territory lost in the former war. But during his absence on this occasion, the ministers, partly sharing the indignation of the public,—partly seeing the opportunity of drawing into their own hands the supreme authority,—entered into a combination for raising to the office of peishwa the unborn son of Gunga Bye, widow of the late peishwa, who had been left in a state of pregnancy. The lady was conveyed to the fortress of Poorundur, accompanied, it is alleged, by a number of Bramins' wives in the same condition, that in the event of the issue proving a female, a male child might be immediately substituted. Ragoba, meantime, had been completely successful in his war against Hyder; but learning the dangers to which he was exposed at home, hastily concluded a peace, and having endeavoured, by extensive concessions, to conciliate the nizam, hastened back towards Poonah. The ministers sent against him Trimbuck Mama, the most warlike of their body, who confidently expected to raise his military fame still higher by the defeat of the peishwa. He was fatally disappointed. That ruler, though with an inferior army, charged in person at the head of a select corps of ten thousand men, and in twenty minutes completely routed the army of Trimbuck, who fell mortally wounded into the hands of his adversary. Had the conqueror proceed-

ed direct upon Poonah, where, on the arrival of the tidings, the utmost confusion and consternation prevailed, he might probably have resumed, almost without opposition, the power and dignity of peishwa. But, on the contrary, he marched northward towards the Nerbudda, in hopes of being joined by Holkar and Sindia, who had encamped in that quarter. By this step he lost a favourable opportunity; the government of Poonah recovered from its panic, and collected a force of 50,000 men, while by intrigues and high offers they had induced the nizam to break treaty with their enemy, and to co-operate in their designs. To crown their good fortune Gunga Bye produced a son, declared, indeed, by the opposite party to be supposititious, but now believed to have been the genuine offspring of Narrain Rao. At the age of forty days, the infant was formally inaugurated in the office of peishwa.

Ragoba's own army were so disgusted with the course he had followed, that they deserted in great numbers, and, after passing the Nerbudda, he found himself at the head of only 7000 cavalry. At Indore, notwithstanding, he met Sindia and Holkar, from whom he received a cordial reception and liberal promises, and was empowered to recruit his thinned ranks from their territory. He then advanced to the banks of the Tuptee, with the view of completing the negotiation into which he had entered with the English government at Bombay.

It was at that juncture a favourite object with the Company to secure their possession of that settlement, by adding to it the port of Bassein, with Salsette and several smaller islands in its vicinity. Permission had been given to maintain an envoy

at the court of Poonah, who was instructed to watch every opportunity of obtaining these much-desired cessions. The Bombay government, on receiving the application from Ragoba for aid to restore him to supreme power, determined to employ it as the means of accomplishing their own purposes. It was contrary, indeed, to the directions and policy of the Company to interfere in the internal disputes of the native powers; and the support of a usurper and assassin was no very creditable mode of realizing their objects. But these considerations were overlooked; and indeed on this last point their defenders assert, that they were very imperfectly informed, and really believed Ragoba innocent of the murder, and the peishwa illegitimate. Even that prince, however, started when he heard the enormous conditions which his new allies attached to their assistance, particularly the cession of Bassein and Salsette. But seeing that Sindia and Holkar, on whom he placed much dependence, had been gained over by his enemies, he felt the necessity of submitting to every demand of the English, who, in the mean time, had taken the liberty of possessing themselves of Salsette and its dependencies. In respect to their requisition, indeed, of a large sum of money, he was obliged to profess, what his circumstances rendered exceedingly probable, an absolute inability to furnish it, but deposited jewels to the value of six lacks of rupees, and stipulated the cession of an extent of territory from which the sum demanded might afterwards be drawn.

With a view to the fulfilment of this treaty, Colonel Keating landed at Cambay with a force which was raised to 2500 men. Having begun his

march, he was joined by an army, or rather mob, under Ragoba, amounting to about 20,000, bearing a very martial appearance, though quite incapable of acting with effect in combination with regular troops. The Indian chief was inclined to delay offensive operations; but the English urged the propriety of advancing upon Poonah as the only course by which the war could be brought to a decisive issue. They proceeded accordingly as far as Arass, where they were attacked by a large Mahratta force composed chiefly of cavalry. The enemy made several desperate charges, and the battle continued long with various and even doubtful fortune, but at length ended in the complete repulse of the enemy. Colonel Keating's loss was, however, so severe, amounting in his small detachment to 222, including eleven officers, that he suspended his intention of advancing at present upon the capital, and awaited at Dubhoy the termination of the rainy season and the arrival of further reinforcements. This partial success, meanwhile, produced an impression favourable to the English and their ally. Several of the late adherents of the ministry espoused their cause,—even the nizam began to waver. The next campaign was therefore expected to open under very promising auspices, when circumstances occurred which gave an entirely new turn to affairs.

The Company, who had hitherto left the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, separate and independent, were now induced, by the inconveniences which had arisen from this arrangement, to establish one central authority. They vested in the governor-general and council of Calcutta a

controlling power over the other two presidencies. The latter, however, were not as yet much inclined to acquiesce; and that of Bombay in particular had, in the late transactions, made very little reference to their new superiors. The supreme council, on being apprized of their proceedings, strongly condemned them, as unjust in themselves, and contrary to the policy inculcated by the Company, of avoiding all interference in the internal concerns of Indian states. This step is generally blamed by English politicians, though, as it appears to us, without any good reason. There seems more room to question the propriety of superseding entirely the Bombay government, and sending Colonel Upton direct from Bengal to conclude a fresh treaty. This had certainly the effect of placing the inferior presidency in a degrading situation, and of exposing it to the contempt of the native powers. It has also been observed, that the Hindoo courts interpret every conciliatory wish as a sign of weakness, and immediately rise in their demands. Nana Furnavese, a Bramin minister, who had attained an entire ascendency at Poonah, assumed a lofty tone; and indeed, as the English continued to demand the cession of Bassein and Salsette, he complained, not without some reason, that, after having frankly admitted the unwarrantable ground on which their claim to these places rested, they should still wish to retain possession of them. In short, the negotiation took so unfavourable a turn, that Colonel Upton announced to the councils both of Calcutta and Bombay, that in all probability it would be immediately broken off. Suddenly, however, the Mahratta minister, seeing that the British authorities were really de-

termined to renew the war, and consequently had in no degree been actuated by fear, yielded almost every point in dispute. A treaty was concluded at Poorundur, by which they obtained the cessions demanded; while a month was fixed as the period within which the army of Ragoba was to be reduced, and their protection entirely withdrawn from him.

Affairs seemed amicably settled, when the wheel of events brought round another remarkable change. The Court of Directors at home, on being apprized of the arrangement made by the government of Bombay with Ragoba; were more swayed by its immediate advantages than by their general principles, and sent out a cordial approbation of the measure. Their despatch to this effect arrived immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Poorundur. It was impossible at once to annul so solemn a transaction; but the council at Bombay exulted in an extraordinary degree over the superior presidency, which had so harshly censured their conduct, and became accordingly disposed to find pretexts for placing themselves again in a hostile attitude towards the administration at Poonah. They by no means withdrew entirely their protection from Ragoba; they even derived encouragement from intrigues carried on to re-establish his influence, which, however, were baffled by the profound political skill of Furnavese. The latter received with great favour a Frenchman named St Lubin, who appears to have held out to him the expectation of a strong military force from Europe. It was concluded, on the whole, that Nana had shown a hostile disposition; and Mr Hornby, the governor of Bombay, entered on the

minutes a general review of Mahratta affairs, in which he concluded that they were fast verging to a crisis that would compel the English either to take some active and decisive part, or to relinquish for ever the hopes of improving their own condition in the west of India. Mr Hastings, too, though he had concurred in the censure on the Bombay government, now began to think that better terms might have been gained by the treaty of Poorundur. He granted authority to them "to assist in tranquillizing the dissensions of the Mahratta state;" to promote which object he sent Colonel Leslie with a strong detachment to march across the centre of India from Bengal to the western coast.

The authorities at Bombay were not only highly elated by the sanction thus given to their schemes, but even adopted the rash resolution of accomplishing them with their own resources, lest the glory should be shared by the troops under Colonel Leslie. In vain did Mr Draper represent the importance of delay till their forces should be concentrated. Mr Carnac, who had now the lead in the council, not only carried his point of immediately opening the campaign, but was himself placed at the head of a committee to aid in the direction of military operations. The command, in consequence of the claims of seniority, devolved on Colonel Egerton, whose health was extremely infirm, and who had acquired all his military experience in Germany, so that an Indian war presented a scene altogether new to him. However, a force of 3900 men, of whom only 600 were British, landed at Panwell, and advanced to attack the capital of the Mahratta empire. The march of an army in India, incumbered with bag-

gage, bullocks, and beasts of burden, is always slow; but the tardiness of this movement was altogether unprecedented. In eleven days they had not cleared above eight miles. A week more brought them, on the 9th January 1779, to the village of Tullygaom, where they found in front an army of about 50,000 men, who began to skirmish in their usual desultory manner. They did not, however, venture on a serious attack; but though nothing had occurred which might not have been foreseen with the utmost certainty, Mr Carnac and Colonel Cockburn, who, in consequence of Colonel Egerton's sickness, had succeeded to the command, formed the determination, from which nothing could dissuade them, of immediate retreat. Such a step, in the face of a Mahratta host, with their clouds of cavalry, was more perilous than the boldest advance. The English troops had scarcely begun to retrograde, when their rearguard was assailed by the whole force of the enemy. Fortunately it was commanded by Captain Hartley, a young officer of high and rising reputation, who gallantly withstood several most furious charges; and they were finally unable to make a serious impression on any part of the line. The loss, however, was very severe, amounting to upwards of three hundred, among whom were fifteen European officers.

After this action, the military authorities decided that even retreat was no longer practicable, and consequently that there remained no resource but negotiation. This of course was equivalent to offering the enemy a *carte blanche* as to the terms on which the invaders should be allowed to return to Bombay. In vain did Hartley remonstrate against this

humiliating step, and point out a course by which the retreat might have been effected; in vain did Carnac advance objections, which, however, he forbore to press; nothing could shake the pusillanimous determination of the commanders. They were even prepared to give up Ragoba, had not that chief made a private agreement to surrender himself to Sindia. The British themselves, by treating with the latter, obtained somewhat more favourable terms: still the convention of Worgaom, if not the most disastrous, was much the most disgraceful event which had marked the annals of our army in India. All the points in dispute were yielded; all the recent acquisitions were to be restored; and orders were sent that the troops now marching from Bengal should proceed no farther.

Both at Bombay and at home the utmost indignation was felt at this convention. Mr Carnac, Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, were all three dismissed from the service. Their conduct in the present instance certainly appears quite indefensible, and it is not a little remarkable, that it formed a decided contrast to that exhibited by them on former occasions. Cockburn, in particular, had distinguished himself by exploits of the most daring valour, and was considered one of the best officers in the service; but the qualities which had fitted him for a secondary part, proved insufficient to guide his judgment in this higher and more arduous station. The treaty was immediately annulled, as having been concluded without sufficient authority, and the arrival of Colonel Leslie with his detachment was alone waited for in order to commence offensive operations. This officer, however, had not made the despatch

which was expected. His march having been harassed by some of the Rajpoot chiefs, he absurdly allowed himself to be drawn into petty contests, and in the course of five months had not proceeded above 120 miles. Mr Hastings was obliged to supersede him, and send in his place Colonel Goddard, who, by passing over three hundred miles in twenty days, reached Surat, and avoided the snares formed by the enemy to interrupt his progress.

This commander, who, though acting on a conciliatory system toward the Bombay government, was invested with jurisdiction nearly independent, began with an attempt to negotiate. This being found impracticable, on account of the lofty tone assumed by the cabinet of Poonah upon its recent success, hostilities were immediately commenced; and the English appeared no longer as auxiliaries to Ragoba, but as principals. On the 1st January 1780, Colonel, now General, Goddard crossed the Tuptee, and before the end of the month reduced Dubhoy, and carried by storm Ahmedabad, the great but decayed capital of Guzerat. Then, however, he learned that Sindia and Holkar, with upwards of twenty thousand horse, had crossed the Nerbudda, and were advancing to attack him. The former chief opened a negotiation with the British, for whom he professed a warm attachment; but, as it was soon perceived that he sought only to gain time, Goddard determined if possible to bring him to a general action. He attacked his camp by night, and succeeded in surprising some of his outposts; but the day dawned in time to enable the main body to mount their horses and present themselves in order of battle. They even made a movement as if to charge; but be-

ing received with a brisk fire, galloped off and were soon out of sight; and the English commander, who imagined he had gained a decisive victory, learned that the Mahratta army, quite entire, had taken a fresh position at a little distance. He again endeavoured to bring them to action; but on his near approach they merely discharged a flight of rockets, and disappeared as before. Wearied with these fruitless and harassing operations, he at length removed his army, and placed it, during the rains, in cantonments on the Nerbudda.

During the next dry season, which commenced in October 1780, the general employed himself in the siege of Bassein, while Colonel Hartley covered his operations, spreading his force over a great part of the Concan, whence he drew both supplies and revenue. This campaign was very successful; Bassein surrendered on the 11th December, while Hartley, taking a judicious position, completely repulsed the whole combined force of the Mahrattas, which attempted to overwhelm him. Thus the English affairs were beginning to assume a prosperous aspect, when Goddard was apprized of an immediate intention on the part of government to open a negotiation. He was directed, therefore, to hold himself in readiness to cease hostilities as soon as intelligence should be received from Poonah of a corresponding disposition. This resolution was connected with certain events of the war in the south of India related in a former chapter. Hyder, having formed an alliance with the nizam and the Mahrattas, had made a terrible irruption into the Carnatic, and was threatening the very existence of the British establishment at Madras. Under these circum-

stances, it was determined to make sacrifices to a great extent, in order to detach the court of Poonah from this formidable confederacy. The treaty, however, proceeded slowly, especially after tidings had arrived of the catastrophe that had befallen Colonel Baillie's detachment. In these discouraging circumstances General Goddard conceived that an advance with his army beyond the Ghauts, and the placing it in a position so as to menace the Mahratta capital, might produce a favourable effect. With about 6000 men, he penetrated with little difficulty the barrier of hills. Nana Furnavese, however, still refused to separate from his ally, and the general was so harassed by attacks on his rear, by convoys intercepted, and by the country being laid waste around him, that he felt at last the necessity of retreating to Bombay. In this movement he was assailed by the enemy with so much fury, that although he reached the coast without dishonour, he sustained a loss more severe than had been incurred in the campaign which terminated in the convention of Worgaom.

Mr Hastings, meantime, attempted to influence the war by military movements from Bengal, directed towards the very heart of India. Captain Popham, with 2400 men, crossed the Jumna, and attacked the fort of Lahar; but finding it much stronger than was expected, and labouring under the want of battering-cannon, he could effect only a very imperfect breach. He determined, however, to storm it; and, though both the officers who led the assault fell, the troops followed with such intrepidity that the place was carried with the loss of 125 men. But the most brilliant exploit was that against Gwalior, a fortress repeatedly mentioned as being

considered in Indostan Proper the most formidable bulwark of the empire, though it could not rank with the impregnable hill-forts of the south and west. After two months of observation and contrivance, on the 3d August 1780, a party was employed to make a night-assault. They mounted the scarped rock by scaling-ladders, then ran up the steep face of the hill, and by ladders of rope ascended the inner wall, thirty feet high, when they found themselves within the place. Some of the men gave the alarm by firing prematurely; yet they stood their ground; the garrison were confused and terrified, and the sun had scarcely risen when the British troops, with almost no resistance, became masters of this celebrated fortress.

In pursuance of the same system, Mr Hastings sent Colonel Camac to carry the war into the territories of Sindia. He penetrated without difficulty into Malwa; but the Mahratta chief then hastened to oppose the invasion, and by the rapid manœuvres of his numerous cavalry soon reduced the British to great distress; at the same time he kept up for seven days an incessant cannonade. The colonel, however, by remaining for some time inactive, lulled the suspicions of the enemy, then suddenly burst by night into his camp, and defeated him with great loss. Although he was not able to follow up this success, it raised considerably the reputation of the English, who also succeeded, by a large sum of money, in detaching Moodajee Bhonslay, rajah of Berar, from the other Mahratta chiefs. Thus, after various transactions, a separate convention was first concluded with Sindia on the 13th October 1781; and finally, on the 7th

May 1782, a general peace was signed at Salbye, on terms as favourable as the chequered events of the war could give room to expect. The limits of the respective territories were fixed nearly on the same footing as by the treaty of Poorundur; and a monthly pension of 25,000 rupees was assigned to Ragoba. Thus closed the first Mahratta war, by which our countrymen, it must be confessed, had earned very little either of glory or advantage.

From this time the relations of that people with our government were for many years those of amity and alliance. This union was produced by common dread of the exorbitant power and pretensions of the house of Mysore. We have seen them united with the British in successive leagues, and affording a loose and tumultuary aid in the contests which overthrew the power of Tippoo. The history of the confederation, however, was remarkably distinguished by the rise of Sindia to a preeminence which made him decidedly superior to all its other leaders. His territory being contiguous to the southern states and to the fragments of the Mogul empire, he added to it successively these different possessions. On the east he subdued Bundelcund; on the west he rendered tributary the warlike princes of Rajpootana. At length, amid the dissensions of the imperial court, Shah Allum, retaining still the name, revered even in its downfal, of Mogul emperor, placed himself under the protection of Sindia. That chief thus became master of Agra, Delhi, and the surrounding territories; and he exercised all that now remained of imperial power. He was so elated by these successes, that he ventured upon a demand of chout or

tribute from the government of Bengal; a claim which Mr Macpherson, then governor, repelled with the highest indignation, and insisted upon its formal renunciation.

Sindia's elevated position was in other respects precarious and difficult. Labouring under an extreme deficiency of funds, he was obliged to levy exorbitant contributions from the Rajpoot chiefs. That proud race rose in insurrection, and were joined by Mohammed Beg and Gholaum Kawdir, to whom, as well as to the emperor himself, the domination of the Mahratta ruler had become odious. In an invasion of Rajpootana, he was completely defeated, and though the feudal bands of that country, as usual after a victory, dispersed and went to their homes, Sindia was now unable to resist the power even of the Moslem princes. He was again defeated, and reduced to the greatest extremity, when he implored, though with little success, that Nana Furnavese would forget all grounds of quarrel and jealousy, and aid in him the general cause of the Mahratta confederation. He was extricated by the savage violence of Gholaum Kawdir himself, who, having obtained possession of Delhi, and of the emperor's person, treated him, his family, and adherents, with the most wanton barbarity. With his own hand he used the point of a dagger to put out that prince's eyes; and committed other cruelties which rendered him the object of general horror and disgust. At length his own associate, Ismael Beg (who had succeeded to Mohammed), went over to Sindia, who also at length obtained a reinforcement from Poonah. He was thus enabled to enter Delhi, and pursue Kawdir, who was taken and put

to death. In this way the Mahratta chief regained almost the entire plenitude of his dominion. He sought to strengthen his military power by various means not resorted to by any of his predecessors. He enlisted into his army the various warlike races in the north of India,—the valiant Rajpoot horsemen, the Goseins, a religious sect, whose tenets did not prevent them from taking arms, and even Mohammedan soldiers who had been thrown out of the Mogul service. But the force on which he chiefly relied was a corps of regular infantry, organized and disciplined in the European manner by a French adventurer named De Boigne. This body, at first consisting only of two battalions, had been rapidly augmented, till it amounted to three brigades, each comprising 5600 infantry, 500 cavalry, and forty pieces of cannon. He had besides a separate train of artillery, and was supported by a body of irregular infantry. A considerable territory was assigned for the support of this corps; which included officers of all nations, among whom was a considerable proportion of English.

Having thus rendered himself the most powerful among the Mahratta princes, Sindia's next object was to acquire a preponderance at the court of Poonah. He proceeded thither with the professed purpose of investing the peishwa with the dignity of Vakeel-i-Mootluq, or supreme deputy, which he had caused the Mogul to confer;—a most unwelcome visit, which Nana Furnavese sought in vain to decline. Sindia arrived, and was received with every mark of outward respect. The peishwa, amid great pomp, was invested with this new title, which was considered an addition to the splendour even of his

rank; while the gallant warrior, being appointed his perpetual deputy, with the right of nominating a successor, acquired all the real power attached to the function. Besides dazzling the eye of the youthful prince by the pomp of this ceremony, he gained his favour by inviting him to field-sports and other amusements, whence he had been in a considerable degree withheld by the austere maxims of the aged Bramin, his minister. In short, Sindia seemed about to supplant Nana Furnavese as the arbiter of the Mahratta state, when he was seized with a violent illness, which terminated his life on the 12th February 1794.

Mahadajee Sindia, who had been the chief instrument in raising his house to be the first in Indostan, was a person of very great activity and address, long experience, and of so much principle as to be supposed incapable of committing any very enormous crime, —a praise which cannot often be bestowed on the great men of India. His death at the present moment, when a danger of the greatest magnitude impended over the state, may probably be considered as the main cause of the ultimate decline of the Mahratta power. Dying without issue, he adopted as his successor, not the nearest heir, but Dowlut Rao, his grand-nephew, the son of his youngest brother; a youth only fifteen years of age, who, though possessed of talents and enterprise, was without that experience which would have been necessary to guide him through the difficult circumstances in which he was soon placed.

Nana Furnavese, on the death of his rival, seemed again replaced in the supreme direction of affairs; but the very eagerness with which he clung to

power, soon involved him in a deeper calamity. While he kept Madoo Rao, the peishwa, in very strict tutelage, he held also in close confinement Bajee Rao, the son of Ragoba, who, in approaching manhood, displayed high accomplishments and engaging manners, which rendered him an object of general interest. This was particularly felt by his cousin Madoo Rao. An epistolary communication was opened, and a romantic friendship formed by these two young men, who stood in a position of such deadly rivalry. In their correspondence they were wont to anticipate the moment when, delivered from their present thraldom, they might form a personal intimacy, and emulate the great actions of their ancestors. This innocent exchange of sentiment being discovered by Nana Furnavese, excited his most violent rage. He increased the rigour of Bajee Rao's confinement, and loaded Madoo with the severest reproaches. The high-spirited youth, in a paroxysm of grief and indignation, threw himself from a terrace in the palace, and died in two days. This was a most disastrous event to Nana Furnavese; for Bajee, whom he had done so much to make his enemy, was the legitimate heir. The minister attempted at first to parry this fatal circumstance, and proposed that the widow of the deceased prince, though she had not reached the age of womanhood, should adopt a son, whom he might establish as peishwa, and in his name administer the state. He found this measure, however, to be quite repugnant to public feeling; and learning that Sindia had declared in favour of the imprisoned youth, endeavoured to make the best of his situation by employing his influence in raising the latter to the

vacant dignity. Bajee Rao, on the intention of Nana being announced, was so much surprised, that he obliged the messenger to take hold of a cow's tail, and swear by the holy waters of the Godavery that no stratagem was intended. He then repaired to Poonah, and was placed on the musnud. The reconciliation, however, could not be durable. The court from this time became a complete chaos of political intrigue, between the peishwa, who endeavoured to exercise his own authority, and Nana, Sindia, Purseram Bhow, and other chiefs, who sought to administer it in his name. These individuals appear in the confused scene one day united in close alliance, the next plotting one another's destruction. We shall not now follow the thread of these intricate transactions, nor incumber our pages with the uncouth names of humbler individuals who, amid the general confusion, contrived to thrust themselves into notice. Some attempts were even made to employ as an instrument the long-imprisoned rajah, whose title was still dear to the Mahratta people. Nana Furnavese, after passing through various fortunes, and being reduced to the lowest distress, was restored to some share of his former power, but died soon afterwards, leaving the reputation of one of the ablest and most skilful politicians that India had ever produced; and there remained no individual possessed of those comprehensive and statesman-like views, which were soon much wanted to direct the affairs of the confederation.

Even before the death of Nana, the court of Poonah had been placed for some time in a critical situation. It had been united in a triple alliance

with Britain and the nizam, against the power and pretensions of the house of Mysore, and had repeatedly co-operated, though in an irregular and unsatisfactory manner, with the English in their wars with that dynasty. Lord Cornwallis, though he had much reason to complain of the conduct of their army, forbore showing any resentment, and granted to them a third, or equal share with the Company and the nizam, of the ceded territory. When Marquis Wellesley afterwards entered upon the last and decisive contest with Tippoo, he called upon the Mahratta government to fulfil the stipulations of this alliance. By that time, however, they had begun to cherish a deep and not ill-grounded jealousy respecting the rapid progress of the British power; and although they chose to temporize, their wishes were now decidedly in favour of Mysore. Nana strongly shared this feeling; yet he decidedly objected to any measure which might commit the state in a war with so formidable a nation. But Sindia and the peishwa, those young and ardent spirits, embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the sultan; and it is believed that a resolution had been formed to espouse his cause, when they were petrified by the intelligence of the fall of Seringapatam, the death of its ruler, and the downfal of his formidable dynasty. Then indeed every effort was made to excuse their inactivity as allies, and to explain away every symptom of a hostile intention.

Though the remissness on the part of the Mahrattas had been undeniable, Marquis Wellesley declined showing any resentment; he even set apart for them a portion of the partitioned territory. But he determined to avail himself of his present com-

manding position to establish if possible an effective control over this great and turbulent state. He tendered to them the share in the spoils of Mysore, coupled with the condition, that the peishwa, on terms similar to those of a treaty just arranged with the nizam, should receive a British subsidiary force, ceding a portion of territory, the clear revenue of which might be sufficient for their maintenance. By this arrangement it was obviously intended to reduce the Mahratta power to a state of vassalage; and accordingly, after some months of delay and evasion, the proposal was decidedly rejected. The governor-general, however, embraced every opportunity of pressing this wise and politic measure; and, contrary to what might have been expected, circumstances occurred which produced a favourable disposition towards it. The peishwa, the nominal head of the Mahratta confederation, and a prince of spirit and ambition, saw his power controlled and narrowed by that of the new military chiefs. Sindia, in particular, commanded a force much superior to that of his master, and began more and more to act as the real lord of Maharashtra, viewing the other as little more than a pageant of state. The sovereign had long objected to an expedient so hazardous both to himself and his people, as that of calling to his aid a foreign race, who had already acquired such an alarming ascendency. At length, however, he agreed to accept their aid, on the condition that the subsidiary force should not actually enter his territory, but take a station on the frontier, to be employed when he should think it necessary. This qualification was evidently made with the view that, without allowing the English to gain any real foot-

ing, he might use their name and the dread of their interposition to establish his own influence over the native leaders. Marquis Wellesley, however, conceived that if he succeeded thus far, it would not be long before he should accomplish his object, and resolved to accept the proposition. But events immediately occurred which enabled him, with unexpected facility, to realize his utmost wishes.

The rival houses of Sindia and Holkar, after recently emerging from the lowest obscurity, had divided between them nearly the whole military power of the Mahratta state. For some time they ranked nearly equal; but after Mahadajee Sindia had risen to greatness, his family necessarily acquired a very decided preponderance. The power of the Holkars, however, revived under an illegitimate branch, Jeswunt Rao, who by boldness, enterprise, and a peculiar talent for predatory warfare, soon raised himself, notwithstanding the stain on his birth, to be the head of his house, and the leader of all who fought under its banners. Dissensions soon arose between him and Sindia, whose territory he did not spare in the course of his ravages. After various movements, the two armies engaged near Indore, Holkar's capital, when that chief was completely routed, with the loss of ninety-eight pieces of cannon; and his power was supposed to be so completely crushed, that Sindia very imprudently neglected any farther pursuit. No force is so easily or so rapidly recruited as that of the Mahrattas. The vanquished leader, having undertaken some inroads into the surrounding territories, soon rallied round him all the bold youths who delighted in plunder and adventure; large bands even from the ranks of his adver-

sary, tired of an inactive life, flocked to his camp. In short, he soon found himself in a condition to march upon Poonah. Sindia and the peishwa united their forces to oppose him; and there ensued in the vicinity of that city one of the most obstinate battles recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. Holkar fought with the utmost desperation, and led his men to successive charges with such fury, that the enemy were completely broken, and fled in every direction. Colonel Close, the British resident, while the engagement lasted, hoisted his flag, which was respected by both parties; and next day he was asked to visit the victorious general. He found him in his tent, ankle-deep in mud, wounded both with a spear and sabre. He received the colonel with the utmost politeness, professed a cordial attachment to the English, and expressed a wish that they would assist in adjusting his differences with Sindia and the peishwa. This last, however, whose courage failed entirely during the engagement, had fled to Singurh, whence he intimated his willingness to accede to the terms on which the British had offered to support him in power. He hastened to the coast, and embarked at Severndroog for Bassein, where he was met by Colonel Close. On the 31st December 1802, they concluded a treaty, which may be considered as sealing the fate of India. The peishwa agreed to receive and support a subsidiary force sent by the Company, while the latter undertook to re-establish him as head of the Mahratta confederation.

Expectations were now entertained that Sindia, who had been so deeply committed against Holkar, and had suffered so severely from his hostility, would concur in the treaty. On the contrary, both he and

Raghojee Bhonslay, who had become Rajah of Berar, and was the only other very powerful chief of that nation, united in the resolution of vigorously opposing the entrance of a foreign power into the Mahratta territory.

In entering on the greatest war which Britain ever waged in India, and which was destined completely to establish her supremacy over that region, it is impossible to refrain from some inquiry respecting the necessity and the wisdom of this eventful measure. Mr Mill, in a very masterly discussion upon this subject, argues, that the war arose out of the treaty of Bassein, which was manifestly the spontaneous act of the governor-general; and that the Mahratta chiefs, engrossed by their own contests for power, had no immediate intention or wish to involve themselves in hostility with the British government. The object of each was to obtain possession of the peishwa's person, and to exercise in his name a general control over the whole state. But an arrangement which withdrew altogether the peishwa from the control of any of them, and transferred to a foreign power all the weight of his name and resources, besides humbling their national pride, presented a common obstacle to the ambitious views of each chief, and was therefore to all an object of equal resentment. To the extent, therefore, that the war was voluntarily incurred by the British administration, the historian's argument seems quite incontrovertible. He goes on to maintain that the Company might have safely looked on, and seen the different leaders waste themselves in internal conflicts, while courted by each they might have secured advantages to themselves, and held the balance

between them. This part of the question, however, depends upon circumstances that are extremely complicated; and the arguments urged on the other side appear to be at least equally plausible.

It has never been denied, that a power which sees its neighbours engaged in war may be justified in interfering, either from generosity to defend the oppressed, or from policy, lest any one state, by conquering the others, should attain a dangerous ascendency. But the conflicts of the Mahratta chiefs now bore much less the character of internal disturbance, than of regular war between independent princes. The common national tie served little more than to inspire the design and hope of a general dominion,—the object which had obviously kindled the ambition of the several aspirants. There was therefore, perhaps, a strong probability that ere long some one of these leaders would gain the supremacy, and wield the entire resources of the Mahratta power. It seems impossible to deny that in such a case an able warrior might have become very formidable to Britain, both by the great extent of territory which he would have commanded, and by the success which might have been expected from disciplining his troops after the European manner. He would also have enjoyed the prospect of being aided by the French, while the English would have had to dread the doubtful faith of the nizam and other native princes whom they held in vassalage.

The governor-general, having determined upon war, formed a very comprehensive plan of operations both for the aggrandizement and permanent security of the British empire in India. General Wellesley, from the Mysore frontier, and Colonel

Stevenson, from Hydrabad, were instructed to make a combined movement upon Poonah, to drive out the force occupying that capital, re-establish the authority of the peishwa, and prosecute, if necessary, the war against Sindia and the Rajah of Berar. A force, destined to control the whole Mahratta confederation, was, agreeably to the same plan, to be permanently stationed in that city. Meantime, General Lake was ordered to advance from Bengal into the interior provinces, to attack and disperse the army trained under European officers by De Boigne, and now commanded by an officer of the name of Perron. The result of operations in this quarter would, it was hoped, extend the British frontier to the Jumna, and thereby include the imperial cities of Agra and Delhi. It was also expected that possession might be obtained of the individual who still bore the title of Great Mogul, which, even in its lowest depression, commanded great reverence throughout Indostan. At the same time the maritime territory of Cuttack, belonging to the Rajah of Berar, was if possible to be added to the British territories, which would then comprehend the whole eastern coast from Arracan to Cape Comorin. With the same view the Bombay presidency were to send an expedition to reduce Baroach and the neighbouring coast of Guzerat. In the event of success in this great enterprise, the Company would be masters of the whole circuit of the Indian coast, and be able to cut off all connexion between their European and native enemies.

Such was the general plan of the campaign, which certainly had a very grand object, combining a great variety of interests; and the issue proved, that at every point adequate means of success had been pro-

vided. Yet it may perhaps be questioned whether it was founded on the wisest principles of military policy. Would it not have been more advantageous to have brought the main strength to bear upon that vital part in the centre of Mahratta dominion, where the armies of Sindia and of the rajah were assembled? By such a movement, these would have been more easily and completely crushed; after which the secondary objects might have been effected without difficulty, either by conquest or cession. The destination of any part of the force against points so insulated as Baroach and Cuttack seems liable to particular objection.

On the 9th of March 1803, General Wellesley marched from his position at Hurryhur, and on the 12th entered the Mahratta territory. Colonel Stevenson, at the same time, broke up from Hydrabad with the subsidiary force of about 8000 men, and 15,000 troops furnished by the nizam. On the 15th April the two divisions united at Akloos, about 70 miles south-east of Poonah. Holkar, on hearing of the approach of the English, determined not to involve himself in hostile proceedings, but retreated to Chandore, a place 130 miles to the northward of Poonah,—leaving Amrut Rao, whom he had invested with the dignity of peishwa, with only a small detachment in that capital. The general then judged it unnecessary to lead his whole army to a place where it could not without much difficulty procure subsistence; but being informed by Colonel Close that there was reason to apprehend Amrut Rao would set fire to the capital, where part of the family of the peishwa still resided, he formed a select corps of cavalry, and advanced with such speed,

that in thirty-two hours he reached Poonah, which Amrut had hastily quitted without attempting any violence. The English power being thus established in the Mahratta capital, the peishwa was escorted from Bombay by a detachment under Colonel Murray, and resumed his seat on the musnud amid the congratulations of the British and native armies.

General Wellesley, having thus accomplished the main object of the treaty of Bassein, was inclined to push his advantages no farther, but to allow the great military chiefs to retain their independent position. Holkar, in fact, with whose interests the present measure came into the most immediate collision, declined involving himself in any hasty step; and, having retired into the heart of his own dominions, watched the progress of events. But Sindia and the Rajah of Berar viewed with the deepest indignation the success of a scheme which placed the head of the Mahratta confederacy under control, and the capital in the hands of a foreign power. These two chiefs led their forces to positions where, in communication with each other, they threatened the territory of the nizam. In this critical state of affairs Wellesley, who had been invested by the governor-general with the entire power of peace and war, instructed Colonel Collins, the British resident in the camp of Sindia, to demand an explanation of his present threatening attitude. That chief gave the most positive assurances of a pacific disposition, and even of an intention to acquiesce in the treaty of Bassein; but as, in conjunction with the Rajah of Berar, he still maintained his menacing posture, and was understood to be issuing orders to his officers to hold themselves in readiness to act on the shortest

notice, it was judged farther necessary to require that he and the rajah should withdraw their troops to their ordinary stations in the centre of their respective territories, while a corresponding movement should be made on the part of the British army. To this demand Sindia replied, that he expected in a few days to have an interview with the Rajah of Berar, when the resident should be informed "whether it should be peace or war." This ambiguous expression, so strongly indicative of the latter alternative, induced the general to advance to Walkee, a strong post near Ahmednugger, whence he could with advantage commence military operations.

On the 4th June, the rajah arrived, and had a meeting with Sindia; but the principal conference did not take place till the 8th. When the resident, however, on the 12th, demanded to know the result, he was met only by delays and subterfuges. The two princes acknowledged themselves to be in some respects dissatisfied with the treaty of Bassein, but declared that their troops were in their own territory without any hostile intention. At length the remonstrances of Colonel Collins, seconded by a letter from General Wellesley, procured for him an audience on the 25th July; though he obtained nothing beyond shifts and excuses till the 31st, when he threatened an immediate departure. He was then invited to the rajah's tent, and a proposal was made that the allies should retire to Burhanpoor, fifty-eight miles in their rear, provided the English commander would withdraw his troops to their usual stations at Madras and Bombay. This arrangement, which would have left the Mahratta territory entirely at the disposal of the confederates, was at once rejected;

and they at length offered to march back to their respective capitals, provided the British army should commence a retrograde movement on the very same day. This proposition was judged worthy of being transmitted to the general. The letter, however, purporting to convey it, on being delivered, was found to contain no such offer, but merely the first and rejected proposition. The resident, then concluding that the sole object of the confederates was to gain time, at once quitted the camp, and the war immediately commenced.

General Wellesley with characteristic promptitude marched upon Ahmednugger, and on the 8th August 1803, summoned that fortress, which was considered one of the bulwarks of the Deccan. On the first day the town was stormed, and on the 10th a battery was opened against the fort, which on the 12th was evacuated by the garrison. He then proceeded to the city of Aurungabad. Meantime, however, the confederates with their numerous cavalry had passed Colonel Stevenson, and appeared resolved to cross the Godavery and make a rapid march against Hydrabad, the capital of the nizam. Wellesley, however, by a judicious movement, obliged them to return northwards. But as the flying warfare, which they seemed inclined to pursue, would have been exceedingly harassing, his grand object was to bring them, almost on any terms, to close combat. The two English commanders with this view marched separately, though at a small distance, along the two roads by which the enemy was expected to pass. General Wellesley having learned that their infantry was encamped in his vicinity hastened forward; when, on reaching the

plain contiguous to the village of Assaye, he discovered their whole army, including every description of troops, and amounting to upwards of 50,000 men, drawn up in order of battle. His own force, though composed of veteran soldiers, did not exceed 4500; yet he determined to proceed to the attack; while his men, far from being struck with any apprehension, exultingly exclaimed, "They cannot escape us!" As they advanced, however, the enemy's artillery, the best organized part of their force, opened a most destructive fire, which greatly thinned the British ranks. The general, being informed by one of the officers in command, that his guns could not be got forward, owing to the number of men and bullocks that were disabled, said, "Well; tell him to get on without them." The British infantry, therefore, moved forward in the face of this tremendous fire with a steady pace, and bore down all opposition. The enemy's cavalry, however, on seeing the opposite ranks so much reduced, made a desperate attempt to break them; but they then encountered a most gallant charge by the English horse, which soon compelled them to join the retreat of the infantry. The victory seemed complete, when it was for a moment rendered doubtful by a very unexpected incident: By a stratagem not unexampled in the East, a considerable number of Indians had thrown themselves on the ground, and been passed as dead by the advancing troops. They now started up, seized some of the captured guns, and commenced a brisk fire from behind, under favour of which a few of the flying squadrons rallied. General Wellesley however, with his usual presence of mind, detached several corps, by whom this alarm-

ing resurrection was soon put down; and the whole Indian host was forthwith involved in one promiscuous flight, leaving on the field twelve hundred dead, with nearly the whole of their artillery. The British on their side lost about a third of their force in killed and wounded.

Such was the battle of Assaye, which established the fame of the greatest commander of the age, and fixed the dominion of Britain over prostrate India. Yet his conduct on this occasion has been the subject of considerable controversy, and many consider that the British troops were too daringly led on to an unequal combat. The panegyrists of the general, on the other hand, argue, that he availed himself of this circumstance as the only footing upon which the enemy could be induced to engage in regular battle. But this plea is refuted by one of his interesting letters to Sir Thomas Munro, where he disclaims any intention of acting separately from Colonel Stevenson, and admits himself to have been taken considerably by surprise when he discovered the whole Indian army assembled on the Plain of Assaye. He judged, however, that had he then attempted to retreat, the hostile cavalry would have pressed closely upon him, and probably caused some loss, besides a depression of the spirits and courage of the troops. Sir Thomas, rather a severe military critic, observes, "If there was any thing wrong, it was in giving battle; but in the conduct of the action every thing was right. General Wellesley gave every part of his army its full share; left no part of it unemployed; but supported, sometimes with cavalry sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed at the very moment that it was most necessary."

In regard to the result also, it has been said, that the enemy suffered so little of actual loss as to render the battle very indecisive. But besides the capture of their formidable artillery, and the extensive dispersion, which in undisciplined armies always follows defeat, it appears probable that this triumph, achieved by so great a disparity of numbers, produced a moral effect greater than would have arisen from a much more decisive victory gained under ordinary circumstances. There is something extremely sensitive in the Indian mind, that is acted upon with extraordinary force by whatever is strange or unexpected. Such displays of valour they never fail to exaggerate, attaching to them a mysterious efficacy which partakes deeply of the supernatural. It was on the field of Assaye perhaps that the spirit of India was vanquished; and Indostan, after that fatal day, was viewed by its people as having passed into the hands of invincible conquerors.

After this victory Sindia proceeded to make separate overtures; but as they were presented at first through private and unaccredited channels, which he might afterwards disown, no proceeding could be founded upon them. The commander-in-chief directed Colonel Stevenson to reduce the great city of Burhanpoor and the adjoining fort of Asseerghur, which bore the reputation of being almost impregnable. The town yielded without opposition, and the fort after a surprisingly short resistance. Sindia then began in earnest to sue for peace, and the terms of an armistice were arranged for all his territories south of the Nerbudda. The British general next led his army against Berar, and found the rajah with his troops on the Plains of Argaom, where, contrary to the con-

vention, he was still supported by a strong body of Sindia's cavalry. Wellesley attacked them without hesitation, and, after a contest less obstinate than at Assaye, gained a complete victory. Siege was then laid to Gawilghur, one of those hill-forts which are esteemed the bulwarks of India. It made a more vigorous defence than any of Sindia's strongholds, and severe labour was required in planting the cannon on its steep sides; but in a very few days a breach was effected, and the outer wall was carried by storm. There remained still an inner rampart, which for some time defeated the efforts of the assailants, till Captain Campbell, with a detachment of light troops, carried it by escalade, and opened the gate to the rest of the army.

The general could now have advanced upon the rajah's capital, and threatened the extinction of his power; but a vakeel had already arrived in his camp to solicit a conference preparatory to negotiation. This envoy endeavoured to prove, that his master had never entertained any hostile intention; and after some unprofitable discussion on this question, asked the terms on which peace might now be obtained. The British commander demanded the cession of the maritime district of Cuttack, which was desirable for completing the Company's dominion over the eastern coast; also the surrender of a territory on the river Wurda, the authority over which had hitherto been inconveniently shared between the rajah and the nizam. Some further demands were made, but withdrawn; and the arrangements being hastened by the fall of Gawilghur were completed on the 16th, and the treaty signed on the 17th December 1803.

Meantime, the central regions of Indostan were the theatre of events equally memorable. Sindia's force here consisted almost exclusively of the large corps formed on the European model by De Boigne, who, having returned to France, had, as we have already stated, been succeeded by Perron. These troops were considered very formidable, consisting of 16 or 17,000 regular infantry, 15 to 20,000 cavalry, a large body of irregulars, and a well-appointed train of artillery. General Lake, having been informed of the failure of the negotiation with Sindia, moved from Cawnpoor on the 7th August 1803; on the 28th he passed the frontier, and next day found the whole of Perron's cavalry in a strong position near Coel, a town in the Doab. He presently led his troops to the attack; when the native army, deemed so efficient and well equipped, after a short random fire retreated with such rapidity that the English could not overtake them. The next object was the fort of Alighur, the main depot of the enemy. It was a very strong place, surrounded with a good glacis, and a broad and deep ditch always filled with water. It would have been unassailable had the entrance been confined to a drawbridge; but a terrace had been imprudently formed for that purpose, over which Lake concluded his troops might force a passage. Colonel Monson, who led the storming-party, soon penetrated across the terrace and over the breastwork; but the wall was so strongly guarded by spearmen, that he could not attempt escalade. A twelve-pounder was brought forward to burst open the gate; but before it could be pointed the soldiers remained exposed to a most galling fire, which severely wounded and disabled their leader himself. Major M'Leod succeeded to the

command; and, after the first gate had been forced open, pushed his way through a long and intricate passage and two successive gateways to a fourth, against which, however, the gun was employed without effect. The situation of the assailants would now have been serious, had not the major succeeded in forcing the wicket, and thus opening an entrance to his countrymen, who soon became masters of the place.

It being understood that Perron was discontented with the service of Sindia, General Lake was authorized to make large offers on condition of his coming over to the English, and bringing his troops with him. In fact, a letter was received from him on the 7th September, requesting to be allowed to repair with his family, servants, and property, in safety to Luknow, but without expressing any disposition to detach his army from their allegiance. His request was readily granted; and he afterwards stated his desertion to have been occasioned by the appointment of another officer to supersede him in the command.

After the capture of Alighur, Lake marched directly upon Delhi the imperial capital, and the residence of him who still enjoyed the rank and title of Great Mogul. He had advanced within view of its walls, when he discovered the army organized under French command drawn up in a strong position to defend its approaches. Though he had only 4500 men against 19,000, yet he determined to give battle without delay; but as the enemy could not without difficulty and severe loss have been dislodged from their present ground, he used a feigned retreat as a stratagem to draw them from it.

This delicate manœuvre was executed by the British troops with perfect order and skill; the enemy, imagining the flight real, quitted their intrenchments, and eagerly pursued; but as soon as they had been fully drawn forth on the plain General Lake faced about. A single charge drove them from the field, with the loss of three thousand in killed and wounded, and their whole train of artillery.

The British general now entered Delhi without resistance. He immediately requested and obtained an audience of the sovereign, with whom a secret communication had previously been opened. He beheld this unfortunate descendant of a long line of illustrious princes "seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his former state, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmities, and his countenance disfigured with the loss of his eyes, and marked with extreme old age and a settled melancholy." He is described as deeply sensible to the kindness of Lake, on whom he bestowed several titles, such as "the sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of the age, and the victorious in war." All his adherents, and the people of Delhi in general, expressed delight on this occasion, and the journalists, in the language of oriental hyperbole, proclaimed that the emperor, through excess of joy, had recovered his sight. Mr Mill derides these rather pompous descriptions of the "delivering" of Shah Allum, as he was in fact merely transferred as a state-prisoner from one custody to another; yet, besides having suffered the most barbarous treatment from some of the native chiefs, he had endured from all of them very great

neglect. The French officers seem to have been inclined to treat him with respect; but the funds obtained from Sindia for his support were exceedingly scanty. The English did not indeed restore any shadow of his former power; but they maintained him in comfort, and with some semblance of the pomp by which the Mogul throne had been anciently surrounded. In return, they obtained for all their measures the sanction of a name still venerated throughout the empire; indeed they were thus virtually seated on the throne of India.

The conquerors now marched upon Agra, the rival Indian capital, which possessed the advantage of being defended by a strong fort, occupied by a large body of troops. Anarchy however prevailed in the garrison, and the officers, being chiefly of English extraction, had become objects of suspicion, and were thrown into confinement. At the same time seven battalions of Sindia's army, having been denied admittance, lest they should claim a share of the treasure it contained, remained posted in the town and principal mosque. It was considered necessary to begin by dislodging them, which was effected though not without an obstinate resistance. These troops, to the amount of 2500, immediately transferred their services to the victors. The Mahratta officers meanwhile resolved to propose a treaty of surrender; but as the time for its ratification arrived they suddenly recommenced firing. The trenches were forthwith opened, and a breach being effected on the 17th October 1803, the enemy capitulated the same evening, stipulating only for the safety of their persons and private property. The treasure found here, amounting to no less than

£280,000, was divided among the troops as prize-money.

There remained still in the field a corps composed of troops detached from the Deccan, reinforced by fugitives from the different armies. General Lake hastened in pursuit of this force; and, considering it only as a collection of runaways deserted by their officers, little apprehended that he was about to encounter the most obstinate resistance he had sustained during the whole campaign. This body, consisting of 9000 foot, 5000 horse, and a numerous train of artillery, were rapidly retreating, when, on the 1st November, he overtook them with his cavalry alone, and determined, by an immediate attack, to prevent their escape. The enemy, however, having their motions concealed by a cloud of dust, speedily threw themselves into an advantageous position, which they strengthened by cutting the embankment of a reservoir in their front. The cavalry were led on, and had gained some advantages, when they suffered so severely by the fire from a numerous and well-served artillery, that it was judged necessary to withdraw them, and wait till the infantry came up. That force accordingly advanced; but the 76th regiment with a few companies of sepoys, having arrived earlier than the others, were exposed to so destructive a fire, that the general felt it his wisest as well as safest plan, to lead singly to the charge "this handful of heroes." They accordingly carried all before them, though with severe loss; and when the Mahratta cavalry attempted to break their thinned ranks, the British horse triumphantly repelled the charge. The remainder of the foot soon appeared, and, after a desperate stand, the ene-

my, for the most part, were either destroyed or made prisoners. In short, by this brilliant success, the entire army, formed and disciplined under Sindia by British officers, and considered the finest possessed by any native power, was completely annihilated.

Besides these achievements, the detached expeditions sent under Colonel Woodington into Guzerat, under Colonel Harcourt into Cuttack, and under Colonel Powell into Bundelcund, were all conducted with the most favourable results; though we have already hinted our doubts whether these troops might not have been more advantageously employed in strengthening the armies in the principal seat of war, and rendering the success there more prompt and decisive.

Sindia, thus vanquished at every point, deserted by the Rajah of Berar, and seeing his finest levies destroyed, felt the necessity of finally relinquishing those expedients by which, till now, he had hoped to avert the necessity of a humiliating peace. On the 30th December 1803, a treaty was signed in General Wellesley's camp, by which he ceded the Doab, or territory between the Ganges and the Jumna, with considerable provinces beyond the latter river, surrendering thereby to the British dominion Delhi and Agra, the two capitals of the Great Mogul, and with them the person of the nominal emperor. He ceded also Baroach, and the rest of his maritime territory in Guzerat. On the south he yielded Ahmednugger to the peishwa, and some extensive districts to the nizam. But he regained the other places conquered from him in the course of the war. Finally, pressing offers were made to him of a treaty on the same terms as that concluded with.

the peishwa, by which he should admit into his territory a subsidiary force that would relieve him to a great extent from the cares of government; but this courtesy was for the present very positively declined.

Meantime Holkar, while witnessing the downfal of the other branches of the Mahratta confederacy, had maintained a very uncertain and equivocal position. He at first gave them ground to suppose that he would join their league; but on the actual commencement of hostilities he remained inactive, and seemed to watch the opportunity when the other powers should have exhausted themselves by mutual conflict, to throw himself in and secure a preponderance. The victorious career of the English struck him with consternation; but it proceeded with such rapid steps, that before he could come to any decision it had completely realized its object. He seems then to have shown some disposition to take advantage of the reduced state of Sindia, and to strengthen himself at his expense. That prince at least was so much alarmed, that he accepted the offer made by the Company of a subsidiary force of 6000 men, to be stationed, however, only on his frontier, while their maintenance was to be defrayed out of the districts already ceded. Holkar, seeing himself thus completely hemmed in, and all his schemes of conquest about to be checked by the British, seems to have hastily determined to plunge into a contest with them. He threatened the territory of their ally the Rajah of Jyenagur; he made extravagant and even insulting demands; he wrote to General Wellesley,—"Countries of many hundred coss shall be overrun and plundered. Lord Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment;

and calamities will fall on lacks of human beings in continual war by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea." At the same time he earnestly invited Sindia, and the other princes who remained still independent, to unite against the British as a common enemy.

The governor-general, in determining to open the campaign against Holkar, considered it necessary not merely to reduce and limit, but altogether to extirpate a power whose existence seemed incompatible with the repose and security of all the other states. To display, however, the disinterested views of Britain, it was determined not to retain for her any part of the conquered territory, but to distribute it among those chiefs who adhered even formally to her alliance. Sindia was to receive the largest share, provided he gave cordial aid in overthrowing the pretensions of his rival.

Holkar, however, was by no means a contemptible enemy. His cavalry, swelled by the wreck of the other defeated armies, and by numerous adventurers, amounted to 60,000, to which were added 15,000 well-disciplined infantry and 192 pieces of artillery. General Wellesley was unable to advance in consequence of a famine which prevailed in the Deccan; and Lake, after reducing the fort of Rampoora, left Colonel Monson, with five battalions and 3000 horsemen, to watch the enemy's movements. The prudence of this arrangement may be questioned. Holkar, who was a second Hyder for desultory warfare, succeeded in bringing his whole force to act against this single detachment; yet it has been supposed, that had Monson promptly led his men to the charge, he might have encountered with success this large

undisciplined host. He resolved, on the contrary, upon retreat, a movement always disastrous before Mahratta forces, which of all others are the most rapid and vindictive pursuers. Every thing combined to render his march unfortunate; the swelling of the rivers, the inundated and swampy plains, the scarcity of provisions, the desertion or hostility of the native troops, among whom was a strong party belonging to Sindia. These last, in the hour of distress, turned their arms against the British, whom they had undertaken to assist. The detachment, indeed, did not forfeit their honour, having triumphantly repulsed every attack; but they lost all their artillery and baggage; many of the sick, the exhausted, and the wounded were left behind, and cut to pieces; and when, on the 31st August 1804, they reached Agra, most of the regiments were in a state of total disorganization.

Holkar advanced upon Muttra and took possession of it. But General Lake now hastened with the utmost expedition from Cawnpoor, and having assembled his forces at Secundra, marched against the Mahratta army, which then relinquished its position. The Indian chief, however, contrived, by alternately advancing and retreating with his cavalry, to occupy the attention of the British commander, while his infantry, by a rapid movement, succeeded in reaching Delhi on the 8th October, and immediately invested it. The city, ten miles in circumference, with a ruinous wall, was guarded only by a small body of sepoys. Lieutenant-Colonels Ochterlony and Burn, however, led on these troops with such spirit and judgment, that all the enemy's attacks were repulsed, and after seven days of persevering efforts they were obliged to raise the siege.

General Lake, on receiving intelligence of the danger of Delhi, hastened to that capital, which he reached on the 17th October. Learning there that Holkar with his cavalry had begun a course of devastation along the Doab, he set out in pursuit of him. He sent at the same time his infantry, under General Fraser, to attack that of the enemy now stationed at Deeg, a strong fort belonging to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, who, on seeing the scale of fortune turn against the English, had embraced the opposite interest. Fraser found them on the 13th, strongly intrenched under the stronghold just named, their front covered by a morass, and their left by a fortified village. The battle was a repetition of the usual scene; the English rushing on in the face of a destructive fire from numerous batteries, and suffering severely till they came to close quarters, then charging with the bayonet, and carrying all before them. There were here successive lines of guns, which it was necessary to capture by repeated charges. The general, a gallant commander, received a wound that obliged him to quit the field, and afterwards proved mortal; the victory was completed by Colonel Monson. This action, like that of Assaye, was distinguished by a manœuvre on the part of the Indian cavalry. Wheeling round and recovering several of the first line of guns, they turned them on the English rear; but they were soon chased off the field by twenty-eight men of the 76th, headed by Captain Norford, who, however, lost his life in the performance of this memorable exploit. At length the enemy were driven to the walls of the fort with the loss of the greater part of their artillery, among which Monson recognised a portion of that lost during his late unfortunate retreat.

Meantime the gallant Lake was in hot pursuit of the Mahratta chief, following him at the rate of twenty-three miles a-day. At length, by marching fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours, he came up, on the 17th November, with the enemy under the walls of Furruckabad. The Indian horse never could stand a charge in the field; they were routed, 3000 cut to pieces, and the rest saved only by the rapidity of their flight. Holkar then marched towards Deeg to join the remains of his infantry. The British general arrived at that fortress on the 1st December, and determined immediately to undertake the siege. Ten days, however, elapsed before the battering-train could be brought from Agra, and thirteen days more before a breach could be effected in a detached work which commanded the approach. It was then carried by storm in the night of the 23d, and the enemy were so struck by the daring intrepidity of the British that, in the course of the two following days, they evacuated both the town and fort, and retreated towards Bhurtpore.

Holkar was now about to sustain a complete reverse of fortune. While the strength of his army was broken by recent defeats, his dominions, whence he might have drawn recruits and resources, had fallen into the enemy's possession. Colonel Wallace from the Deccan had reduced Chandore and the other strongholds in that quarter, while Colonel Murray from Guzerat, having overrun nearly the whole of Malwa, and entered Indore the capital, was already preparing to intercept his retreat. The only point of resistance was Bhurtpore, the rajah of which still adhered to his alliance. The reduction of that city was therefore considered necessary to complete the triumph

over this turbulent chieftain. This place, at first sight, did not present a very formidable aspect to an army before which many of the mightiest bulwarks of India had fallen. It was encircled by none of those rugged steeps which guarded the approach to Gwalior and Asseerghur. The only defence consisted in a lofty mud-wall and a broad ditch not easily fordable; and the very extent of its walls, which embraced a circumference of six or eight miles, increased the difficulty of defending them. But the rajah applied himself to its defence with the utmost skill and resolution: the kingdom of the Mahrattas, he observed, was in their saddle; his was within his ramparts. Hitherto, in general, the reduction even of the strongest forts had proceeded in a sure and regular course; the trenches were opened, a storming party was selected, who forced their way in with greater or smaller loss, and were masters of the place. But the defenders of Bhurtpore not only fought with the most daring valour, but called into action means of defence and annoyance which the English had never elsewhere encountered, and for which they were wholly unprepared. They rendered the breach impracticable, by raising behind it stockades and other bulwarks; they made the ditch unfordable, by damming up the waters; and during the assault logs of wood, pots filled with combustibles, and burning cotton-bales steeped in oil, were thrown down upon the soldiers. In short, the British army were repulsed in four successive attempts, sustaining in killed and wounded a loss of 3203,—greater than had occurred in any two battles during this obstinately-disputed campaign. Even their glory was somewhat tarnished. The 76th, hitherto the bravest

among the brave and the foremost in every triumph, along with the 75th, refused on one occasion to follow their officers, after the 12th Bengal sepoys had planted the colours on the top of the rampart. Being bitterly reproached by General Lake for having thus caused the failure of the assault, they were overpowered with shame, and entreated to be led to a last attack, where they displayed a desperate but useless valour.

It was now necessary to intermit the operations of the siege in order to repair the losses sustained, and to bring forward more adequate means of attack. The rajah, however, apprehensive of the final issue, and seeing that his entire downfal must follow the loss of his capital, made very advantageous overtures, including the payment of twenty lacks of rupees as the price of peace; while, on the other hand, the situation of affairs was such as induced the English general, on the 10th April, to embrace the conditions, and even to promise, in case of a steady adherence to treaty, the restoration of the fortress of Deeg.

Holkar, during the siege, had made several exertions to interrupt or retard it by movements with his cavalry. He partly succeeded; but a large body under Ameer Khan was entirely defeated, and some smaller detachments, whom the English overtook, suffered so severely, that at length they fled at the mere sight of their antagonists. This chief, therefore, after being deserted by the Rajah of Bhurtpore, was reduced almost to the condition of a fugitive; and his situation seemed altogether desperate, when relief came from an unexpected quarter.

Sindia had been strongly affected on witnessing

the commencement of the war by Holkar, and the brilliant successes with which he had opened the campaign. He evidently conceived the idea of seizing this opportunity to retrieve his fortunes; but the indecisive character of Indian councils caused him to advance towards his object only by tardy and circuitous steps. He began by raising his demands upon the British; he marched his troops towards their frontier, and when remonstrated with, delayed upon various pretexts to withdraw them. At length, when Holkar, after the peace made by the Bhurtpore rajah, was retreating in a shattered and reduced condition, he received him into his camp; having already committed the almost unprecedented outrage of plundering the abode and seizing the person of the British resident.

Lord Lake, as the rainy season now approached, could not immediately follow the two hostile chiefs into the heart of their territories. Their power, however, was so completely broken that he entertained no doubt of soon reducing them to submission. But the entire system of British policy respecting India underwent at this crisis a decided change.

The vast scheme of conquest and subsidiary alliance, by which Marquis Wellesley had studied to place the whole of this eastern empire under British control, had excited in the mother country a deep sensation. The public were, to a certain degree, dazzled with its splendid success; yet a numerous body of politicians exclaimed that this course was contrary to all true principles of policy,—that it formed an interminable system of war,—that the Company, in seating themselves upon the throne of the Mogul, and endeavouring to effect the conquest

of all Indostan, had entirely relinquished the basis on which they had uniformly professed to act. The contest with Holkar, breaking out with so formidable an aspect after all the others had closed, gave rise to painful feelings as to the endless duration of Indian hostility. The Company, strongly influenced by public opinion, and struck by the enormous expenditure in which the campaign had already involved them, determined to change entirely the system according to which their affairs were conducted. In place of the Marquis Wellesley, who, with or without reason, had acquired completely the reputation of a war-governor, they substituted the Marquis Cornwallis. This nobleman had not, indeed, while in power, pursued a course materially different; yet his character was generally esteemed moderate and conciliatory, and he was understood to disapprove of the extent to which conquest had now been carried. His instructions were to proceed on principles every way opposite to those in operation,—to conclude peace almost at any price,—to form a defensive line beyond which British interference was not to extend; and to allow the native powers to treat and to fight with each other as if they were situated at the extremity of the globe.

Admitting that the policy of Marquis Wellesley was not quite so pacific as his friends contended, it was very doubtful how far it could now with safety, or even with justice, be thus abruptly relinquished. A great power can seldom be justified in withdrawing from all concern in the contests of its neighbours; from endeavouring to protect the weak against the strong; and thereby preventing any one of them from acquiring a decided preponderance. It was per-

haps chimerical to suppose that the principal native chiefs would cultivate habits of sincere peace, or entertain a solid attachment for the British government. They were for the most part usurpers, who had started up amid the ruins of one great empire, each seeking to aggrandize himself at the expense of the rest, and viewing undivided dominion as a prize at which he might aim. They had all, however, through the interposition of the Company, seen their aspiring views checked or baffled, their armies vanquished, and some of the brightest gems plucked from their diadems. There could be little doubt, therefore, that when left to themselves there would be a struggle for the mastery; and that either by him who should succeed in this object, or by a league of all united, an effort would be made to overthrow the ascendency of England, and regain the possessions which she had wrested from them. According to the adherents of the Wellesley policy, the system pursued by that nobleman was so far advanced towards maturity that only one short effort, of easy and assured success, was necessary to place all India in a state of tranquillity, and to keep down those discordant elements which would otherwise lay waste the country itself. By stopping short at this point, great part of the empire was involved in calamity and disorder, and the foundation laid for another expensive, and even perilous struggle.

Marquis Wellesley had announced the necessity, from the state of his health, of returning to Europe as soon as the contest with Sindia and the Rajah of Berar should have been brought to a termination. On learning, however, the rupture with Holkar, he in-

timated his willingness to remain, and bring it also to a close. The views of the government at home were different. On the 30th July 1805, Marquis Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta; where, learning that the war was still going on, he determined to proceed immediately into the upper provinces, and make personal inquiry into the state of affairs. In his zeal for the public service, however, and to fulfil the anxious wish of his countrymen, he had undertaken this duty at a period when his age and infirmities rendered him very unequal to its performance. Under the fatigue of the voyage his illness daily increased, till on reaching the village of Gazypoor on the Ganges, he was obliged to land, and after lingering for some time died on the fifth of October. Having been unable to reach his destination, while his mind as well as body were impaired by indisposition, he had been little able to receive or consider any fresh information. His place was supplied by Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the supreme council, who had reached that station through various gradations of service, which he had filled with distinction; but his previous habits had not accustomed him to take comprehensive and statesmanlike views of public interests. Regarding with the deepest respect the views of his predecessor, and considering them as supported by the government at home, he refused to listen to any arguments, or admit any of the modifications, suggested by Lord Lake.

That commander, although he disapproved of the new system, finding it was firmly established by the supreme power, judiciously sought to carry it into effect on the most advantageous footing. He managed, with great address, to draw the first over-

tures from Sindia; and as it had been determined to yield all the points in dispute, no difficulty was found in the conclusion of a treaty on the 23d November 1805. The Mahratta leader obtained the highly-important fortress of Gwalior, which he made his residence and capital; the Chumbul was fixed as the boundary between his possessions and those of the British, who agreed to dissolve their alliance with the Rajpoot princes and others whom he claimed as tributaries. This last measure was in accordance with the new political system; yet in the case of the Rajahs of Boondee and Jyepore, who on the ground of this connexion had performed important services, it was considered as scarcely compatible with national faith.

Holkar, after being deserted by his ally, retreated with the wrecks of his army into the western provinces to seek refuge among the Seiks. They refused to receive him; and, being closely pursued by Lord Lake, he would have been reduced to extremities had he not been saved by the new policy which the military commanders were compelled to observe. No sooner did he ask for peace, than it was granted on terms so advantageous, as allowed him to regain almost all that he had lost during the war.

Amid this general dissolution of defensive alliances, those formed on the great scale with the nizam and the peishwa necessarily came under consideration. The connexion with the latter, founded on the treaty of Bassein, and out of which the late war had arisen, was described by the Company as one which they were desirous to relinquish. Yet even Sir George Barlow, when he came to consider the pro-

posed measures, could not but view them as fraught with extreme peril. To dissolve the alliance with these potentates, and to withdraw the troops by which they were at present overawed, would have been to relieve the greater part of the powers of India from British control, while they were still animated by the most hostile feelings towards her; it would, in fact, have been to lay the foundation of a future confederacy for her downfal. The peishwa, likewise, notwithstanding his general aversion to the English, had motives connected with the internal state of his dominions, which made him desirous, for the present at least, to claim on that ground the fulfilment of the treaty of Bassein.

Sir George Barlow was succeeded in 1807 by Lord Minto, a prudent and intelligent nobleman, who endeavoured in his general system to maintain the pacific policy recommended by the Company, without shrinking from vigorous and even hostile demonstrations, when the conduct of the native powers appeared to render these necessary. The great states during his administration retained their position nearly unaltered; but animosities continued to ferment, which were destined to burst into a violent tempest, and to involve India afresh in a sanguinary war.

CHAPTER V.

Pindaree War, and Conquest of the Mahrattas.

Progress of the Pindarees—Their Character—Ameer Khan—Arrangements with the Peishwa—Trimbuckjee—He murders the Guzerat Minister—Is delivered up to the English—Escapes—Concessions required from the Peishwa—Marquis of Hastings arrives in India—Rupture with Nepaul—Death of General Gillespie—Successes of Ochterlony—Negotiations—Renewal of the War—Final Treaty—Alliance formed with Berar—Irruptions of the Pindarees—Opening of the Campaign against them—Treaties with Sindia and Ameer Khan—The Cholera attacks the Grand Army—Rise and Diffusion of that Malady in India—Alarming Accounts from Poonah—Operations against the Pindarees—The Adherents of Holkar join them—Battle of Mehidpoor—Treaty—Final Catastrophe of the Pindaree Chiefs—Movements of the Peishwa—He attacks the English—His Repulse and continued Flight—Repeated Defeats—Surrender—Intrigues at Nagpore—The Rajah attacks the English—Issue of the Contest—His Escape—Subsequent Transactions—Contest with Bhurtpore—Conclusion.

In the aspect which India at this period exhibited, the most remarkable feature consisted in the marauding habits of the people by whom so large a portion of it was occupied. A new power which rose without any basis to rest upon, without country or territory to claim for its own, and without any regular place in the political system, was chiefly supported by the roving tribes named Pindarees, who carried to an extreme all the predatory usages characteristic of Mahrattas. The latter, indeed, regarded plunder as

an essential part of their policy; still they had a country and a home to which they were fondly attached; and they had regular occupations which they followed in the intervals, independent of their more violent pursuits. Their chiefs aimed not merely to enrich themselves by booty, but also to attain political power. The Pindarees, on the contrary, were nothing more than robbers elevated by their number into armies; and their boast was, not that they were able to encounter disciplined troops, but that they could elude them. If overtaken or surprised, the point of honour was, who should fly swiftest. No barrier arrested them; they penetrated the closest chain of military posts, and found a way even between the divisions of an army drawn up to oppose them; they desolated the countries in the rear; after which, making an immense circuit, they returned home by a different route. Their aim was, not to possess a district, but to sweep away all that was in it. Obliged to pass with a celerity almost preternatural, and to employ expeditious modes of extracting treasure, they inflicted the most merciless tortures to compel the owners to yield up their concealed hoards. Redhot irons were applied to the soles of the feet; oil was thrown on the clothes, and inflamed; the head was tied into a bag filled with hot ashes and dust. The proudest exploit of a Pindaree was to steal a horse; and this operation was conducted with a dexterity which might put to shame the most skilful of their fraternity in Europe. They could carry one off from amid a crowded camp: stretched on their bellies they crept to the spot, and lay concealed till a favourable moment, when they cut the cords, mounted, and galloped off among the bushes with a rapidity that

defied pursuit. When an enemy was distant, they divided into small parties, moving in a circular direction, so as to sweep the whole country. Their numbers were continually augmented by disbanded soldiers, and by persons of idle and desperate characters. The chiefs annually raised their standard on the northern bank of the Nerbudda at the termination of the rains, that they might be ready, as soon as the rivers should become fordable, to commence a general movement.

The Patan and other Mohammedan troops, who, in the wreck of all the thrones occupied by their countrymen, had no longer a sovereign in whose service to fight, afforded another source whence predatory squadrons were formed and recruited. Most of them rallied round Ameer Khan, a bold and enterprising chief, who in the last war had fought under the banner of Holkar. He still retained his allegiance to that house, and attempted to direct its councils; but his chief object was, with his chosen band of about 12,000 horse and 200 pieces of artillery, to overawe and extort contributions from the Rajpoot and other petty states in this part of India. Though equally destitute of fixed possessions, and as much devoted to plunder as the Pindarees, he acted more systematically, and aimed at the attainment of political influence; yet, in Sir John Malcolm's opinion, the Mohammedans, from their tendency to sink into indolence and luxury, are less to be dreaded than the Hindoos, who, though they yield for the moment, pursue their object, on the whole, with unwearied perseverance.

Though Ameer Khan formed a power distinct from the Pindarees, he easily attracted large bodies of them

to any enterprise which promised to gratify their appetite for plunder. Such was the expedition which, in 1809, he undertook against Berar, then governed by an effeminate and unwarlike sovereign. He would have succeeded in subverting that monarchy, had not Lord Minto wisely departed from his strictly defensive system. A strong detachment under Colonel Close was despatched into the territory of Nagpore, which, it was notified to Ameer Khan, was under British protection. That chief made a blustering and indignant reply, but was soon, by different circumstances, compelled to retreat into Malwa; and the governor-general, on farther consideration, gave up the design which he had once entertained, of crushing this turbulent and ambitious marauder.

The arrangements with the peishwa, meantime, proceeded also in a very unsatisfactory manner. That prince began, indeed, by courting the English, and even soliciting the continuance of their subsidiary force in his territories; but his object was to regain the control which he had almost entirely lost over his dominions. Besides the provinces possessed by Sindia and other independent princes, numerous districts, especially in the south, had been parcelled out into *jaghires*, which, like the European fiefs in the middle ages, were held on the mere tenure of homage and military service. To make the resemblance more complete, the jaghiredars, during the recent period of public confusion, had secured for themselves a condition of almost complete independence. The Company felt considerable difficulty when applied to for aid against these chiefs, with many of whom, during the late exigences, they had formed alliances; but, notwithstanding, they agreed to enforce over them the

authority of the peishwa, not as an absolute sovereign but as their liege lord. As these proud chiefs, however, were little inclined to own even this imperfect obligation, they imposed on the prince the frequent necessity of calling upon his allies to support his claims, and of declaring their possessions forfeited. Thus, in a few years, principally through the aid or fear of the English, he had reduced most of these retainers, and enriched his treasury by extensive confiscation. Having completely recovered his power and provided the necessary funds, he resolved at once to shake off the British yoke, and to re-establish his influence over the great feudatories of the Mahratta state. For this purpose he availed himself of the services of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, a bold, able, but very dissolute minister, raised from the lowest ranks, and entirely devoted to his master's purposes. The British resident from the first viewed with umbrage the elevation of this personage, and was soon brought into direct collision with him. The peishwa, among his other plans of aggrandizement, had revived certain ancient claims on the *guickwar* or sovereign of Guzerat, with whom also the Company had formed a subsidiary alliance. As the negotiations on this subject became extremely intricate, it was agreed that Gungadhur Sastree, the prime minister of that state, should repair to the court of Poonah, and endeavour to place them on an intelligible basis; having, however, previously obtained a safe conduct from the English. From being supposed favourable to their interests, as well as from some personal causes, he incurred the enmity of Trimbuckjee and the peishwa. To gratify this feeling, they prevailed upon him to accompany them to Punderpoor, where

a religious festival of peculiar solemnity was to be celebrated. After their arrival Gungadhur, though indisposed, was induced to repair to the temple with a few unarmed attendants. On the way certain persons were heard asking in a whispering tone which was the sastree; to which it was answered that it was he who wore the necklace; but the question, it was imagined, was prompted by mere curiosity. The minister, having performed his devotions, was returning with a diminished escort, when several men, with long twisted cloths used for the purpose, called aloud to clear the way. The sastree being thus left alone, they rushed upon him with drawn swords, and quickly pierced him with numerous wounds. Every thing conspired to render it manifest that Trimbuckjee was the author of this daring crime. The assassins had left him in the temple, whither they were seen running back with naked weapons. On the most trivial pretexts, however, he declined to submit to any formal investigation. In short, the inquiries of Mr Elphinstone, the resident, left no room to doubt that he was the direct instigator of the murder, and had obtained the full consent of Bajee Rao to its perpetration.

The British minister, on this emergency, determined to adopt the most decisive measures, and, with the view of giving effect to the negotiation, ordered the auxiliary force to approach nearer to Poonah. The peishwa, evidently apprehensive of being personally charged with the deed, evaded, on various grounds, all communication on the subject. At length, two persons in his confidence waited on the resident, apparently with a view to sound his intentions. Mr Elphinstone allowed them to under-

stand that there was no design of fixing the crime upon the peishwa; indeed, if he made any allusion to the rumour of Bajee's guilt, it was with the air of entire disbelief, and only to show the necessity of his disproving it by bringing the real offender to justice. It was demanded that Trimbuckjee, who was openly charged with the murder, should, with his two principal accomplices, be placed in close confinement to await a full investigation. The prince studiously employed every expedient to save his favourite; sometimes he endeavoured to justify him, and at other times declared it beyond his power to effect his arrest. The suspicion thus afforded of a determination to screen the offender, induced the resident, with the concurrence of the governor-general, to demand that he should be delivered into British custody. This proposal was of course still more revolting to the peishwa, who began to augment his troops; and it was understood that he was on the point of making common cause with his minister,—to fly with him from the capital, and endeavour to raise the Mahrattas against the Company. Mr Elphinstone then considered it indispensable to order the subsidiary force to march upon Poonah; but Bajee Rao, when he saw the sword about to be drawn, lost courage, and Trimbuckjee was delivered into the hands of the English. This they considered an important triumph, having long foreseen that they must ultimately come to a rupture with this person, who had shown a disposition the most evidently hostile; yet to have driven him from power, merely because he supported his master's interests and opposed a foreign influence, would have been extremely odious in the

eyes of the nation. But the crime of Trimbuckjee, being aggravated in their view by every possible circumstance, as being committed on a Bramin of high sanctity and within the precincts of one of their holiest shrines, threw a great degree of popularity on the vigorous steps taken by the resident for its punishment.

The English conducted their prisoner to the strong fortress of Tannah in the Island of Salsette, and watched him so narrowly that they did not admit a single native into the guard. This excessive precaution was perhaps the very circumstance which defeated its own object. The vicinity was filled with the minister's adherents; and a groom in the service of one of the British officers, in passing near the terrace where the accused was allowed to walk, chanted gaily what was supposed to be a Hindoo song, but which really communicated a plan contrived for his escape. Through a small gap in the wall of the edifice, he reached a stable; and not being missed for a few minutes, succeeded in crossing the narrow channel which separates Salsette from the continent. He immediately hastened to the southern districts, where he began to levy troops, and raise the whole country against the English.

The peishwa avowed total ignorance of the course taken by Trimbuckjee after his escape, as well as of the place of his retreat; and as no proof could be obtained of the falsehood of these declarations, the good understanding between the two states was not at first interrupted. Bajee's conduct, however, became more and more unsatisfactory. Troops were indeed sent, ostensibly to put down the insurrection; but they reported that they could not find an

enemy; and, in fact, they held a friendly communication with the very individual whom they professed to view in that character. The British resident learned that the prince was in active correspondence with the insurgents; that he had held an interview with Trimbuckjee at a village seventeen miles from Poonah; and had even forwarded to him liberal supplies of money; being at the same time employed in military preparations, with the intention, as was suspected, of co-operating with him. Secret negotiations were also carried on with Sindia, Holkar, and other Mahratta chiefs, for the purpose of uniting the whole confederation for the overthrow of British power. All remonstrances relative to these proceedings having been met by a positive denial, as well as by a refusal to adopt any of the measures demanded as proofs of an amicable disposition, it was thought inconsistent with sound policy to allow this combination to reach maturity. Mr Elphinstone ordered the subsidiary force to advance upon Poonah, and gave notice to the peishwa, that hostilities would commence within twenty-four hours, unless three of his strongest fortresses, Singurh, Rayree, and Poorundur, should be provisionally placed in the hands of the English, and assurance given that within a month, Trimbuckjee would be again delivered up. Bajee Rao delayed some time to give any answer; at length, with that infirmity of purpose which usually appeared in the hour of danger, he agreed unconditionally to all these terms. The fortresses were surrendered, and a price set on the head of the minister. Still the resident gave warning, that these concessions could not be considered as final; that the peishwa had forfeited the confidence of the Com-

pany, and could not expect the treaty of Bassein to be renewed, unless under modifications, the extent of which must depend upon the next despatch from the governor-general. Accordingly it was soon after announced, that amicable relations could only be restored on the following terms:—That the subsidiary force should be augmented by 5000 horse and 3000 infantry, for the maintenance of which, territories yielding a revenue of 34 lacks of rupees must be ceded; that in this cession the strong city of Ahmednugger should be included; that his highness should renounce the character of head of the Mahratta confederacy, and cease to hold direct communication with any of the native powers. These severe conditions the peishwa sought by every effort to mitigate or elude; but as the resident remained inflexible, a treaty to this effect was signed on the 13th June 1817.

In carrying on the narrative of the transactions at Poonah, we have been led beyond the commencement of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, who arrived in the end of the year 1813. The Company, in appointing to this high station so eminent a military character, seemed to intimate a conviction that the pacific or merely defensive policy on which they had for some time acted, could not be much longer maintained. Lord Hastings in fact soon indicated a disposition to resume the more active scheme of government so ably pursued by the Marquis Wellesley. He appeared resolved to suppress the growing power of the predatory associations, to renew the alliances with the Rajpoot and other minor chiefs, and generally to establish the control of the English over the Indian states. His atten-

tion, however, was for a time drawn off by movements in a new and somewhat unexpected quarter.

The extensive region which slopes downward from the summit of the Himmaleh to the plain of Indostan has always been occupied by fierce and warlike tribes. Being, however, as formerly described, broken into a number of narrow valleys separated by steep and lofty ridges, it had been parcelled out among various independent chiefs, never before united in such a way as to prove dangerous to the central kingdoms. Lately, however, the Gorkhas, a rude but brave race of men, led by a warlike commander, had conquered the valleys of Nepaul, the finest which intersect the magnificent range of the Himmaleh. Thither they transferred the seat of their government, and having by a skilful policy conciliated the neighbouring princes, had made this acquisition a step to farther conquest. They accordingly proceeded to subdue different chiefs, till their territory extended above 800 miles in length, and comprehended nearly the whole mountain-region of Northern India. They then cast a longing eye over the wide plain that spreads beneath, covered with all the riches of tropical cultivation, and capable of affording an ample revenue. Being generally superior to the native troops, both in courage and discipline, they might perhaps in favourable circumstances have founded an empire equal to that of Aurengzebe. They had, however, to encounter, not the fallen fragments of Mogul greatness, nor the loose squadrons of Mahratta horse, but the disciplined strength of that new power which had become paramount in Indostan. The British, by the numerous victories gained in the last war, had extended their boundaries along nearly the

whole line of this mountain-domain. The Gorkhas, on seeing their career thus checked, hesitated for some time whether they should commit themselves against so formidable an adversary. Meanwhile they appropriated certain small portions of territory, on which, by the vague tenures prevalent in that country, they might found some ancient claim. Repeated complaints being made, they at length agreed that deputies from either side should meet in order to examine and decide the pretensions to the land in dispute. The commissioners assembled; but those of Nepaul, it is alleged, showed a singular insensibility to the clearest proof of the total absence of all right on their part to the favoured spots of which they had taken possession; and even where they were obliged to yield, the supreme authority evaded or retracted its sanction. At length the governor-general, considering the claim to a particular district most clearly established, sent a detachment, which provisionally occupied it, till these endless discussions should terminate. The Nepaulese did not at first oppose this movement; but as soon as the troops had retired during the unhealthy season, leaving only a small post to guard the frontier, they advanced in force and drove out the party, of whom several were killed and wounded. After this there was no longer room to hesitate as to the immediate necessity of warlike operations.

Ameer Sing, the able and enterprising commander of the Nepaulese, on grounds which it seems impossible fully to understand or justify, had taken post on the western extremity of their conquests. Lord Hastings, who, in 1814, sent into the field a force of 30,000 men, availing himself of the position assumed

by the enemy, formed the plan of enclosing his army, and cutting it off from the central territories. Generals Ochterlony and Gillespie, at the head of their respective divisions, marched, the one to attack Ameer in front, the other to occupy the passes by which he might effect his retreat. The latter speedily penetrated into the Deyra Dhoon, one of the finest valleys which diversify the Himmaleh, and the main channel of communication between the eastern and western districts. Somewhat unexpectedly he found this passage commanded by the fortress of Kalunga, or Nalapanee, rendered formidable; not by artificial bulwarks, but by its position on the top of a hill, where it could only be approached through a thick and entangled jungle. That gallant officer, however, perceiving that this post formed the key of the territory, hesitated not to attack it. He divided his army into four detachments, who, advancing from different points, were to meet at the summit, and engage in a common assault. Such a plan is at first view imposing; yet it appears founded on false principles, and in practice is likely to prove extremely perilous. The chances are many that the different corps will not all reach their destination at the same moment; and if one arrive before the others, it will have to encounter the undivided attack of the enemy's force. Such was the case now; one division, making their way through every difficulty, arrived in front of Kalunga before they could be supported by the rest of the army. The general then came up, and seeing his troops thus exposed to the whole fire of the besieged, led them at once to the assault, hoping, with this corps alone, to carry the place. They accordingly dislodged the outposts, and arrived under the very walls; but

were twice driven back by showers of grape-shot, arrows, and destructive missiles peculiar to Indian warfare. Gillespie, however, determining to carry the fort or die, placed himself at the head of the storming-party, and cheered them on, waving his hat, and pointing with his sword to the gate. At this moment a ball pierced his heart,—he fell; and all hopes of success were at once abandoned. The arrival of another division served merely to cover the retreat of the former. Colonel Mawbey, however, who succeeded to the command, felt deeply the importance that this first and great military operation should not be finally abortive. But he was obliged to delay his meditated attack on that obstinate stronghold till a battering-train was procured from Delhi. Three days afterwards a breach was effected, and an assault commenced, under the command of Major Ingleby; but the resolute defence, and formidable fire of the garrison, again baffled every effort. The batteries, however, continued to play till the walls, which were by no means lofty, were reduced almost to a heap of ruins; and the natives then evacuated the place which they had so gallantly defended. General Martindale, who now took the command, advanced to attack the enemy stationed at the strong fort of Jytuk; but here again the British troops, through their too impetuous valour, were thrown into confusion, and obliged to fall back with considerable loss. At the same time, the army which was attempting to penetrate direct into Nepaul through the district of Sarun had two of its detachments surrounded and cut off; so that operations on that side were completely paralyzed.

These events produced an alarming sensation at Calcutta, while they were received with the highest exultation in all the native courts, which were watching for an opportunity to effect the downfal of British power in India. Movements were made by Sindia and other princes, which seemed to call for an increase of the corps of observation stationed in their territories. Yet the Marquis of Hastings judiciously considered, that to obtain some decisive success over the Nepaulese, and compel them to sue for peace, was the only mode by which the evil could be remedied. He therefore augmented and concentrated his force on the theatre of war. General Ochterlony, hitherto checked by the losses of the division that was to act in combination with him, began vigorous operations on the offensive. He had already compelled Ameer Sing to retire from the heights of Ramghur to those of Malown, which were also exceedingly strong. He had likewise reduced Ramghur, Bellaspore, and the other fastnesses, which commanded this mountain-region. At the same time the province of Kemaoon being left unprotected, a detachment was sent under Colonel Nicolls, who besieged, and, on the 25th April 1815, took Almora, its capital. Ameer, being now closely confined to his fortified post at Malown, was obliged to capitulate, though on honourable terms, being allowed to join the main army with the troops under his charge.

The government of Nepaul were so deeply discouraged by these reverses, that notwithstanding the opposition of several chiefs, and particularly of Ameer Sing, who proposed even to seek support from the Emperor of China, they determined to

open a negotiation. The terms demanded by Lord Hastings were high, including the cession of all the provinces conquered in the west, and also of the Teraee or Tarryani, the border of jungle which extends along the base of the mountains. This last article formed the chief obstacle to the treaty, not so much on account of the actual value of the territory, as because most of the principal chiefs at court had assignments of land in it from which they derived their income. The marquis, considering the point to be of little consequence, had made up his mind, and given directions that it should not stand in the way of the treaty. Unluckily the Nepaulese ambassadors had agreed to the terms and signed them, but when transmitted for ratification, the court was induced, on the above grounds, to refuse its consent. In such circumstances, there appeared no longer room for the intended concession; and no option was left but the renewal of war. This was attended with considerable inconvenience, since, in confident expectation of peace, the preparations had not only been relaxed, but even part of the military stores sold off; however, extraordinary exertions were made, and the army, in January 1816, was again ready to take the field.

The enemy had intrenched themselves in the strong pass of Chereea-ghatee, which formed the entrance into their mountain-territory; but General Ochterlony, by a skilful though laborious march, turned this position, and penetrated to Muckwanpoor, in the vicinity of which they had erected several forts and stockades. Two successive defeats convinced them of the vanity of their attempt to contend with British troops; they made overtures

for a fresh negotiation, in which all the points in dispute were yielded; and in March a definitive treaty was concluded. The governor-general was then with a good grace able to grant, as a matter of favour, most of the districts for the possession of which they had been so extremely solicitous.

The contest with Nepaul having been brought to a successful termination, the Marquis of Hastings turned his views to that new system of policy, which he was desirous to establish with regard to the central powers of India. It consisted partly in the renewal and extension of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, partly in the extirpation of the predatory states which had arisen in the heart of the empire. In the former view, overtures from Bhopal, when threatened by Sindia and the Rajah of Berar, were at first well received; but, amid the distractions occasioned by the Nepaul contest, it became necessary that they should be courteously evaded. A negotiation was opened with the Rajpoot prince of Jyepore, who had made heavy complaints of having in 1806 been deserted by the English, and exposed to the depredations of the Holkar family and other plundering tribes. The treaty for some time proceeded with promptitude; but, the very knowledge that he was about to be supported by the English having overawed his enemies and averted the present danger, the deep-rooted jealousy always cherished by the native sovereigns respecting the admission of foreign troops soon revived. A powerful party exclaimed against the ministers by whom the treaty was conducted, as betrayers of their country; and they thought it expedient, by advancing conditions that were inadmissible, to prevent its final conclusion.

This disappointment was compensated by a more fortunate occurrence in another quarter. Raghojee Bhonslay, rajah of Berar, died, leaving a son, Pursajee, so infirm both in mind and body, as to be incapable of maintaining even the semblance of royalty. In these circumstances, Appa Saheb, his cousin, and also presumptive heir, assumed the authority of regent, to which he seemed to possess a legitimate claim. Another chief, however, Dhurmajee Bhonsla, having formed a powerful party, rendered it doubtful whether Appa would be able to maintain himself without foreign aid. The latter, therefore, made overtures to the British for a subsidiary alliance, coupled with the condition of supporting him in the administration. This, in the present temper of the councils of Calcutta, was most readily granted. The stipulated force was to consist of six battalions of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, partly attached to the regent's person; for the maintenance of which the annual amount of 7½ lacks of rupees was to be received in money-payments, instead of the invidious mode of territorial cession. This treaty, according to Mr Prinsep, was viewed at Calcutta with the highest exultation, as an arrangement by which the state of Berar was finally detached from the Mahratta confederacy, and fixed in the British interests; and not as what it really was, namely, a mere expedient for the attainment of personal objects, and to be thrown aside as soon as these were accomplished.

The occupation of Berar afforded great facilities for operations against the predatory powers, whose main rallying-point was in Malwa, a hilly tract to the northward of the Nerbudda. The gover-

general, however, had not yet obtained permission to root them out of that strong country, and was obliged to content himself with drawing a cordon along the southern bank of the Nerbudda, by which he hoped to prevent them from penetrating into the Deccan. Unfortunately for themselves, Cheetoo and other chiefs had at this time acquired a considerable increase of strength. They had been left for several years nearly unmolested; and had even received secret assurances of support from the principal Mahratta chieftains, who were meditating a fresh attempt, with the aid of the Pindarees, to subvert the ascendency of Britain. They were, however, considerably alarmed by the appearance of the force stationed on the Nerbudda; but seeing it remain inactive, while they themselves had mustered 23,000 cavalry, they conceived it possible to penetrate at some point the extended line along which the English were posted. Accordingly, with 10,000 horsemen, they crossed on the extreme right with such rapidity, that our infantry were unable either to arrest or overtake them. They then separated into two *lubhurs* or plundering bands, one of which proceeded due south into the territory of the nizam, and reached the banks of the Godavery. The other marched eastward, and entered the Company's territory of Ganjam, where in the course of twelve days the preceding year they had killed and wounded nearly 700 persons, and carried off or destroyed property to the value of £100,000. A third party crossed at Burhanpoor, and overran the territory of the peishwa to some distance beyond Poonah.

The Pindarees had thus eluded the regular force appointed to check their inroad; yet though they

were still liable to be attacked by several detached corps that were scouring the country in different directions, they never stationed sentries, or took any similar precaution against an evil to which they were always exposed. While the large body who had reached the Godavery were deliberating on their future course, Major M'Dowal, with a body of light troops, came upon them so unexpectedly, that they had received a discharge of fire-arms before almost a man of them was mounted; and they were obliged to fly, abandoning nearly all their horses and booty. One bold chieftain, with 260 troopers, crossed the Peninsula, swept along the western shore, and, ascending the Tuptee, reached his home with less indeed than half his original number, but all of them carrying in their saddles a rich booty. Major Lushington again, learning that the other party had passed Poonah, made a march of 50 miles, came upon them while busied in cooking, and gave them so complete a defeat that only a few escaped. In Ganjam, too, they met with several surprises, in one of which Lieutenant Borthwick beat up their camp with only fifty men. They abandoned their attempt to penetrate into the territory of Cuttack; and learning that a plan was formed to intercept their return, they endeavoured to effect their object by a circuitous route through Bundelcund, in the course of which Colonel Adams and other officers inflicted upon them very severe losses.

Although this campaign had been in some measure successful and even triumphant, it afforded reason to apprehend that India could never be secure from the inroad of these marauders, so long as they should have a place of secure retreat. Upwards of

30,000 troops had been employed against them, a number adequate to a regular war on the greatest scale, and involving an immense expenditure; yet they had penetrated through a strong line of defence, while their subsequent failure was occasioned only by an undue security, which they would probably learn to correct. The permission granted by the government at home to prosecute the war against them was far from being unlimited; but the marquis trusted that the events which had occurred during this campaign, and the success which he hoped would still attend his measures, would secure for him the sanction of the Company.

About the middle of the year 1817, the governor-general put in motion the most numerous and efficient army that had ever perhaps taken the field in India. Its entire amount is estimated at about 81,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry; of which 57,000 advanced from the Deccan and Guzerat, and 34,000 from Bengal through Indostan Proper. To the corps from the Deccan were attached 13,000 irregular cavalry, and to that from Bengal 10,000 of the same force, many of them good troops. The main body of the Bengal army, under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings, assembled at Secundra, and proceeded to cross the Jumna near Calpy. Another corps was instructed to pass that river at Agra; while two smaller divisions were to act on the flanks, and to connect this with the other armies. The Deccan force was to advance in two divisions under Generals Hislop and Sir John Malcolm; Colonel Adams led the regiments from Berar, while Generals Doveton and Smith took post in the rear, ready either to support the main body, or to crush any commo-

tion that might arise at Poonah or Nagpore. General Keir meantime led the army of Guzerat into Malwa. All these divisions formed a complete circle around the Pindaree positions, closing in upon them as upon a common centre. This system of tactics, which in contending with disciplined forces is accompanied with the danger that the enemy, availing himself of his central position, may successively attack and beat the different corps advancing against him, was attended with no such hazard when directed against troops who never encountered an adversary in pitched battle, whose sole aim was escape, and to whom flight was victory. It was by such a movement only that they could be enclosed and finally crushed.

There was one circumstance attending this campaign which could not be regarded without some degree of alarm, namely, that it led our army into the territories of princes who viewed with the most rancorous jealousy the height to which the British power had now attained. All of them saw in its success the downfal of their own ambitious hopes, and even of their independence, and anxiously watched the favourable moment for striking a blow. Even the courts of Nagpore and Hydrabad, notwithstanding the treaties by which they professed to be bound, could not by any means be relied upon. But the Pindaree war was to be carried on in the dominions of Sindia and Holkar, the most deadly foes to the British name. Of the former Sir John Malcolm justly observes, that he never could be expected to forget the loss of empire sustained through Britain: "All his habits, his prejudices, his wishes, are against us; we have nothing in our favour but his fears.

His faith and his promises cannot be relied on for a moment." It appears indeed that Cheetoo, the principal leader of the Pindarees, had made urgent applications to be merely allowed a place where his family might be secured from danger; adding, "from it my heart may be set at ease, and I may face the English with confidence. Then for once, by the blessing of God and the fortune of the exalted, the tumult shall be spread to the environs of Calcutta, the whole country shall be consigned to ashes, and to such distress shall they be reduced, that the accounts will not fail to reach you; but at present this must be delayed for want of a place of refuge." To this Sindia's ministers replied, that they could not take such a step without an immediate rupture with the British government; but that Cheetoo might depend on their utmost aid in secret. In these circumstances Lord Hastings considered it indispensable, before leaving Sindia's dominions behind him, to extort his consent to such a treaty as might withdraw from him the means of a hostile interposition in the approaching conflict. Captain Close, the resident at Gwalior, was instructed to demand that he should place his troops entirely at the disposal of the British government; that he should furnish a contingent of 5000 horse, and supply funds out of which they might be supported; finally, that he should provisionally deliver up the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, on which, to save his honour, his flag would continue to fly. There was even to be a private understanding, that while the contest lasted he should not quit his capital. Sindia manifested the most violent opposition, first to the English entering his dominions at all, and then to the terms at-

tached to that movement; nor was it till Lord Hastings from one quarter, and General Donkin from another, were each within a day's march of his frontier that the treaty was reluctantly signed.

A negotiation was next opened with Ameer Khan, and, as he was a principal member of the confederation, it was made a primary article that he should disband the whole of his turbulent corps. This demand was severe, for he would thereby lose that on which his importance and power had been entirely founded. In return he was offered the guarantee of the territories held by him under grants from Holkar, and of which his tenure was otherwise very precarious. Having submitted to the terms, the treaty was signed by his agent at Delhi, on condition that a month should be allowed previous to ratification; but the stipulated period had elapsed, and a British army had enclosed him on each side, before he would affix his name to it. His troops being then disbanded, he seemed thenceforth to place his hopes of aggrandizement solely in the English alliance, and cordially exerted himself in promoting its objects.

The Pindaree chiefs could not view this immense force, especially when it began to close in around them, without the deepest alarm. While the rainy season yet suspended operations, they held frequent conferences on the state of their affairs. Their only hope, they were convinced, was to quit their present haunts and seek a temporary home in some remote quarter of India. But it was difficult to find a secure place in which to deposite their property and their families; for even amid their wandering life they were still susceptible of the strongest domestic attachments. This embarrassment and the violent

dissensions which had long reigned between their two principal heads, Kurreem and Cheetoo, caused them to break up without having formed any fixed plan. The invading armies began to move as soon as the rains had abated, and while the swelling of the rivers might yet impede the rapid movements of their adversaries.

The opening of the campaign, meantime, was retarded by two very unexpected circumstances: The first was the appearance in the main army of that terrible epidemic, usually denominated the *cholera spasmodica*, which, after spreading desolation and dismay throughout India, and occasioning a very serious loss of life in the eastern parts of Europe, has at length penetrated into Britain, and entered the capitals both of England and Scotland. In its first progress, it struck the world as a new and unheard-of visitation; but further researches have established, that the same disease has from time to time appeared in the East. Ancient writings, in the languages of Southern India, describe it very distinctly under the names of Sitanga or Vishúchi. Extensive ravages are represented to have been committed by it in Bengal in 1762; in a division of troops which in 1781 were marching through the district of Ganjam; and in 1783, during the annual festival at Hurdwar. In 1787, a malady, the symptoms of which clearly establish its identity, prevailed at Vellore and Arcot on the coast of Coromandel. It had not however, during a long period, assumed any formidable shape, and in the comprehensive tables published by the medical board at Madras, the column for cholera spasmodica in 1815 and the two following years exhibits nearly a continued blank.

This disorder first showed itself, in August 1817, in the zillah of Jessore, about 60 miles north-east of Calcutta, in the marshy districts which form the Delta of the Ganges. The whole of the tract extending along the lower course of that river is intersected by numberless branches of its stream, whence are derived canals and tanks that diffuse the benefit of irrigation almost to every field. These artificial channels, however, are often in bad repair and filled with stagnant water, while even the river itself at certain seasons has not current sufficient to preserve its salubrious qualities. Added to this, the extreme violence of the heat in summer, and of the rains in winter, render the whole of this part of Bengal liable to fevers and other climatic disorders. When any of these atmospheric phenomena occur in an extraordinary degree, and especially when, by injuring the cultivated fields, they render the grain scarce and bad, epidemics of the most malignant description are frequently generated. The years 1815 and 1816 were distinguished by very striking peculiarities of season and weather. In the May of the latter year, the heat became most intense, the thermometer rose to 98 degrees in the shade, and various persons, both European and native, fell down dead in the streets. A deficiency in the periodical rains was also apprehended till the beginning of September, when there poured down a complete deluge, causing a more extensive inundation than was recollected by the oldest inhabitant. This was followed by attacks of low typhus fever, and of a malignant sore throat,—a disorder formerly unknown in that region, but believed on this occasion to be contagious.

The year 1817 was from the first uncommonly

moist, and the regular rains began on the 25th May, about three weeks before the usual period. They fell to a depth greater by one-third than in ordinary years; so that, before the middle of August, nearly the whole district composing the Delta of the Ganges was one sheet of water. It was during the distempered state of the air thus produced, that the malignant cholera broke forth on a scale hitherto quite unprecedented. The disease, either in its common or violent form, appeared nearly at the same time in different parts of Bengal. But it was in Jessore, situated in the tract called the Sunderbunds, filled with thick jungle and surrounded by stagnant waters, that it assumed its most alarming aspect. At Calcutta, during the month of August, many cases of common cholera had occurred; but at the beginning of September it appeared in that city under its most malignant type; though whether it was imported from Jessore, or rose spontaneously under similar circumstances, is a question not yet decided. It spared Europeans for a few days, but began to attack them on the 5th, though without committing the same dreadful ravages as in the native town; yet the register of one of the life insurance societies exhibited a proportion of deaths four times as great as in the preceding years. The malady was diffused almost simultaneously through the different cities of Bengal, rapidly ascended the Ganges, and spread even to the west of the Jumna; sparing, however, the comparatively elevated territories of Oude and Rohilcund.

In the beginning of November, in consequence, as is supposed by some, of the arrival of a detachment from the lower province, this disease in its most virulent form broke out in the army under

the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings. Troops on a march are observed to be peculiarly liable to its attack, which is imputed to the extreme heat of the tents, doubtless combined with the great exposure to the atmosphere. The cholera appeared in this army as it was slowly marching through the low and unhealthy district of Bundelcund, which labours under a peculiar deficiency of good water. For about ten days it converted the camp into a large hospital. All the public establishments being engrossed by the care of the troops, the numerous camp-followers could not be accommodated except in the tents of their masters, who formed also their only attendants. The route over which the army moved was strewed with the dead and dying; the bazars were deserted; even those persons whose health was good suffered under severe depression of spirits; so that during the above period the efficiency of this fine body of men was completely destroyed. The usual bustle and hum of a crowded camp was changed into an awful silence, only broken by the groans of the dying and lamentations over the dead. In the European patient death usually followed in from six to twelve hours after the attack, while the sepoy was carried off in about half that interval. The malady raged with its utmost fury from the 15th to the 23d November, when it ceased almost at once; so that the army having reached a more salubrious camp, at Erich on the Betwa, became rapidly convalescent, and by the commencement of December were prepared to enter on the duties of the campaign.

The loss sustained during this most gloomy period has been very greatly exaggerated. It has

been represented even by good authorities as amounting to three, five, or even eight thousand,* out of the whole number of ten thousand. More precise statements by Mr Prinsep and Mr Kennedy, derived from personal and official knowledge, prove this inaccuracy to have arisen from the not taking into account the vast crowd of camp-followers, who, in an Indian army, always greatly outnumber the fighting-men. When the proper distinction is made, it appears that the deaths among the 10,000 troops amounted only to 764; while the loss among the camp-followers was about 8000, which did not, however, exceed a tenth of their entire number.

We cannot here follow in detail the progress of this severe malady, which made its way in every direction. After having spared in its first progress the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund, it reached them in April and May 1818, and in the following months penetrated to Catmandoo, Almora, and other very elevated positions on the chain of Himmaleh.

The march of armies into the centre of India, and the despatches sent through every province of that country, were supposed to diffuse more and more widely its fatal influence. The natives, instead of using any rational means of cure or prevention, sought to avert it only by pompous and crowded visits to the temples, which increased the danger of communication; or by sanguinary proceedings against certain persons who were suspected of producing it by witchcraft. In the course of the year 1818 it spread through every part of India. The report of the me-

* Bisset Hawkins' History of Cholera, p. 169.

dical board at Madras contains an interesting map, showing its track through the Deccan and the South by an irregular course, sometimes along the high roads, sometimes in cross directions; but, in the end, leaving scarcely any point of importance untouched. It reached Nagpore on the 15th May,—Bombay by way of Poonah on the 14th August,—Hydrabad on 25th July,—Madras on 8th October,—and finally the extreme stations of Trivander and Palamcotta in January 1819. Throughout these provinces it manifested itself in various degrees of intensity. In general, however, this dreadful disease seems to be marked, rather by the fatality of its action on those attacked than by the great number who come under its influence. The entire amount of cases occurring in the army of Fort St George during 1818, the most severe year, was 1087 out of 10,652 Europeans, and 3314 out of 58,764 natives. Of the former 232, and of the latter 664 died. (Report of Madras Medical Board, p. 28.) In the Island of Bombay, which contains a population of about 210,000, the ascertained cases were 15,945, of which 14,651 were medically treated, and the deaths among these were only 938, or $6\frac{4}{10}$ per cent.,—perhaps the smallest proportion of mortality that has any where been observed. (Bombay Report, App., pp. 13, 14.) Instances, however, are given of single corps, particularly on a march, suffering much more severely. The 2d battalion 20th regiment of native infantry was marching to Hydrabad, when of about 1150 men 200 were attacked, and 73 died. The 1st battalion 1st regiment, on its road from Nagpore to Hydrabad, out of 1010 men had 167 attacked, of whom 64 died. His majesty's 54th regiment, after

landing at Madras, when proceeding to Bangalore, had 159 out of 632 attacked, and 54 died.*

Another unexpected crisis arrested Sir Thomas Hislop with the army of the Deccan, just as he had arrived on the frontier of Malwa. Intelligence then reached him that Bajee Rao had taken up arms and attacked the British residency in his capital. Sir Thomas then judged it necessary to fall back, that he might support the reserve corps, and aid in the suppression of this insurrection. General Keir, who had advanced from Guzerat, was induced by the same information to retreat. But Lord Hastings justly considered that the fortune of the campaign must ultimately depend upon the prompt success of the operations in Central India, and conceiving Smith's force, with another under Pritzler, quite sufficient at present to overcome the peishwa, ordered these commanders to return without delay to the scene of action.

The Pindarees, as soon as they saw themselves completely enclosed by the advancing corps of the British, made no attempt at resistance, and studied only how to escape. One party succeeded in penetrating into the rear of our army in Bundelcund, where they began to commit serious ravages, and were not dispersed without some difficulty. Cheetoo, with nearly 8000 men, effected a march westward into the territory of Mewar, where he was assured of support from several quarters, and had the strong mountain-fort of Kumulner as a refuge for his fa-

* The cholera, which has been considered here only in its connexion with the train of historical events, is, in relation to its symptoms and cure, treated of in the succeeding volume, under the head of "Spasmodic Cholera," p. 368.

mily. The escape of the Pindaree chiefs, when so strong a force surrounded them, Colonel Blacker explains by a reference to the defective means of conveyance possessed by the British; to their having, in the dread of encountering a Mahratta army, encumbered themselves with ordnance; and above all, to the agility of the native horses, which can pass over the most rugged roads and uneven ground with great speed. Kurreem, with one of his associates, attempted to push his way to Gwalior, where he hoped to find support from Sindia. All the passes in this direction, however, were most strictly guarded; and a strong corps was appointed to watch the motions of that ruler, whose secret enmity to the British was so fully understood. The first that came up with this body of Pindarees was General Marshall, who easily drove them before him. They escaped without much loss, but were obliged to change their direction and march for the territory of Jyepore, where they hoped to be joined by some of the disbanded troops of Ameer Khan. On their way thither they were surprised by General Donkin, who gave them a complete overthrow, capturing the wife of Kurreem, with all his state-elephants and kettle-drums. His army, therefore, no longer attempted to preserve any appearance of regularity, but broke into detachments, and sought for safety by flying in various directions. The greater number endeavoured to reach the corps of Cheetoo; and, accordingly, the final destruction of that warrior appeared all that was necessary to finish the Pindaree contest, when there started up another head of the hydra which the English were labouring to vanquish.

The councils of the house of Holkar had been in-

volved for some time in the utmost confusion. Jeswunt Rao, who had raised that family to power, after the unfortunate issue of the war with the British became deranged, and died in a few years. His heir Mulhar Rao was a mere boy, and the administration during his minority was agitated by the most violent dissensions. The chief parties were, on one side Toolsee Bhye, widow to the late Holkar, who had been invested with the office of regent; and on the other the Patan chiefs, who were strongly attached to the predatory system. The queen-regent, with the view of maintaining her influence, made secret overtures to the English for receiving a subsidiary force. This measure was strongly opposed by the leaders just named, whose sentiments were shared by the military in general; and their influence was so strongly felt by her majesty, that she did not venture to proceed with the negotiation. The chiefs, however, being suspicious that something of that nature was still in progress, were fired with such indignation, that they seized Toolsee Bhye, carried her down to the river, and put her to death. War was then only delayed till the completion of the necessary preparations. Troops, especially infantry, were collected with the utmost diligence, and their movements assumed so formidable an aspect, that Sir John Malcolm judged it advisable to fall back upon the corps of General Hislop, who, as already mentioned, had begun a retrograde movement, but was again advancing towards Poonah. These commanders having effected a junction, proceeded together, and found the native army strongly posted at Mehidpoor, with a steep bank in front, at the foot of which flowed the river Soopra, passable only by a

single ford. Although this position might have been turned by a circuitous march, General Hislop considered such an advantage more than counterbalanced by the impression which would be produced by pushing on promptly and directly to the attack. This mode of proceeding, as Colonel Blacker observes, is better suited than more scientific manœuvres to the genius of English troops. A scene then ensued, similar to that which usually took place in Mahratta battles; the British regiments rushing forward with the most daring intrepidity in the face of a numerous artillery, by which they severely suffered, and at length, when they came to a close charge, carrying all before them. They lost 174 killed, and 604 wounded; there being among the former three, and among the latter thirty-five European officers. The Mahrattas, though they left 3000 on the field, retreated with a great part of their army entire; but they abandoned all the artillery: their courage and confidence were gone; and though their numbers were not greatly diminished, they were no longer an army. The chiefs therefore at once accepted the offered terms; namely, that young Holkar should be placed under the protection of the British, who were to maintain an auxiliary force, and to have a contingent of 3000 men placed at their disposal; and that certain districts of moderate extent should be ceded, not for the purpose of being possessed by the conquerors, but distributed as rewards to those allies who had remained faithful during the present contest.

After losing the support of the Holkar family, the Pindarees found an unexpected asylum with Juswunt Rao, one of Sindia's generals, who occupied several strong camps in the neighbourhood of Ram-

poora. After several fruitless remonstrances, General Brown attacked this chieftain, reduced his intrenchments, and obliged him to fly with only a handful of followers.

The hopes of the Pindarees were now reduced to the lowest ebb. Flight, they knew not whither, became their only resource. They had obtained Kumulner and other fortresses in the Rajpoot territory; but these being quickly invested, were, after a short resistance, all given up. Major Clarke having overtaken the party under Kurreem during the night, and finding them plunged as usual in profound security, delayed the attack till morning, that they might derive no advantage from the darkness. He divided his corps into two, with one of which he made the charge, while the other occupied the only road by which the enemy could retreat. They sustained, accordingly, a complete overthrow, and were dispersed in every direction, leaving several of their leaders dead on the field. After suffering some farther disasters, all the corps were reduced to a state truly miserable. Cheetoo and his adherents sometimes slept with their horses saddled, and the bridles in their hands, that they might be ready for instant flight. At length an intimation was circulated, that, in case of unconditional surrender, their lives would be spared, and the chiefs should even obtain the means of an honourable subsistence in some remote district. One leader after another submitted upon these terms. At length Kurreem, after wandering for some time on foot through the jungles, gave himself up, on the 15th February 1818, to Sir John Malcolm. Cheetoo opened a negotiation; but, on learning the small allowance which was to be granted to one whom he

thought entitled to a jaghire in his native country and a place in the British service, he hastily took his departure. He afterwards encountered a variety of distresses, which ended in a manner equally dismal and appalling, being devoured by a tiger while lurking in the forests of Asseerghur. His fate excited sympathy among the British officers, who admired the spirit and intrepidity with which he had braved the deepest reverses of fortune.

While the performances on the main theatre of Indian warfare were thus brought to a successful close, two separate dramas of a subordinate though eventful character were acted on other stages. The most remarkable was at the court of Poonah. The peishwa, ever since the last humiliating treaty which he was compelled to sign, had eagerly sought deliverance from a yoke which now pressed heavily upon him. The employment of the British forces in the Pindaree campaign offered a tempting occasion to reassert his independence. A little consideration indeed would have shown him that this contest could not engage his enemy beyond a very short period; after which they would find it easy to crush such resistance as he or any other of the Mahratta states could create. But the peishwa, like many other Indian princes, though possessed of talent and address, and skilled in pursuing the ordinary objects of eastern policy, was incapable of taking a comprehensive view of his actual situation. He was encouraged by the hatred of the English which he saw prevalent among his chiefs, and by the general disposition of all the Mahratta leaders to unite in a confederacy against that people.

For a considerable time he threw an impenetrable

veil over his hostile designs. On intimation being given of an intention to go to war with the Pindarees, he professed his cordial concurrence in the object, and his desire to co-operate by all the means in his power. So great indeed was his address, that Sir John Malcolm, an intelligent and veteran politician, after living at his court several days, was completely deceived, and communicated his opinion, that nothing hostile was to be apprehended from the peishwa. Mr Elphinstone, the official resident, entertained from the first an opposite opinion, which was soon fully confirmed. He saw that the utmost activity was employed in collecting troops, under the pretext of aiding in the Pindaree war, but in fact with a purpose directly opposite. At the same time the jaghiredars, who had been studiously depressed and humbled, were courted and conciliated; while Bapoo Gokla, an officer of distinguished ability, who had hitherto been kept in a species of disgrace, was invested with the supreme direction of affairs. A numerous camp was formed close to the British cantonments, around which the Mahratta horsemen were seen riding in menacing attitudes. The brigade commanded by Colonel Burr, the amount of which had been fixed with a very undue confidence in the friendly disposition of the prince, did not exceed three sepoy battalions, with a European regiment not yet arrived from Bombay. As the hostile intentions of the court became more and more manifest, it was judged advisable to withdraw the troops into a strong defensive position formed near the city by an angle of the river Moola; but Mr Elphinstone, anxious to avoid any semblance of being the aggressor, resolved not to quit the residency till he should be driven away by force.

Threatening notes began to be exchanged; and on the 5th November 1817, so sudden an attack was made, that the resident and his suite had scarcely time to mount their horses when his mansion was plundered, and all the property, including books and papers, was either carried off or destroyed.

General Smith, though placed in the rear of the grand army, had agreed, that if a single day should pass without his hearing from Poonah, he would conclude the communications to have been interrupted, and hasten thither with his brigade. A week, however, must necessarily elapse before his arrival, and to keep the sepoys in the mean time cooped up in a narrow space, harassed by the enemy's artillery and light-horse, would, it was feared, damp their courage, and promote that tendency to desertion which had already been strongly manifested. Hence the officers determined to march out with their small corps and attack their foes, who, to the amount of 26,000, were already stationed in front. This movement was executed promptly and with such vigour, that though the enemy's horsemen made some desperate charges, and reached several times the flanks of the English brigade, the latter finally remained masters of the field. They had not indeed done much damage to their adversary; but the intrepidity of their attack, and the degree of success gained against numbers so vastly superior, changed decidedly the moral position of the two armies. When General Smith, therefore, on the 13th November, after fighting his way through the peishwa's cavalry, arrived at Poonah, and prepared to attack the Mahratta camp, that prince at once began a retreat. He continued it for upwards of six months without intermission, ranging over the

wide extent of the Deccan; at one time approaching Mysore, at another proceeding nearly to the Nerbudda, always distancing his pursuers by the skill and rapidity of his march, and even passing between corps advancing from opposite quarters. At one time he made himself sure of cutting off a division of 800 men destined to re-enforce Colonel Burr; but Captain Staunton the commander, taking post in a village, repulsed with desperate valour, though with severe loss, all his attacks, and he was at length obliged to desist. This was considered the bravest exploit performed in the whole course of the war. The peishwa finding himself now a hopeless fugitive, and learning the triumphs of his enemy in other quarters, made overtures for a treaty; hoping to be allowed to retain, though in a reduced condition, his rank as a sovereign. But the governor-general, on considering his long course of hostility and the treacherous attack made at so critical a moment, had determined to erase his name from the list of Indian princes, and that there should be no longer a peishwa. Britain was to exercise the sovereign sway in all the territories which had belonged to him; though, in order to sooth in some degree the irritated feelings of the Mahratta people, the Rajah of Satara, the descendant of Sevajee, still deeply venerated even after his long depression, was to be restored to some share of his former dignity. To follow up this purpose, General Smith laid siege to Satara, which surrendered after a short resistance. The interval afforded a brief respite to the peishwa, and lulled his vigilance; so that when this officer had pushed on by forced marches, at the head of a division of light-horse, he arrived unobserved within hearing of the Mahratta

kettle-drums. Concealed for some time by the brow of a hill, he appeared on its summit to the astonishment of the Indian army. The peishwa forthwith left the field with his attendants; but Gokla determined to hazard a battle rather than sacrifice nearly the whole of his baggage. He made the attack with the greatest vigour, and had succeeded in throwing part of the cavalry into some confusion, when he fell mortally wounded. His death was regretted even by the English, since his enmity to their nation, and zeal for the independence of his own, had been tempered by honour and humanity. The whole army immediately fled, and the British obtained possession of the person of the Rajah of Satara, who had before been a prisoner in the hands of his rival.

Bajee Rao still continued his flying march, of which he assumed the sole charge; and gave out every morning the direction in which the army was to move, having concealed it till that moment from his most confidential officers. After much and long wandering, he moved northward to the borders of Berar and Malwa, where he partially recruited his strength by collecting the remains of the beaten armies. But he soon found himself hemmed in closer and closer; and in pursuing his march, in the absence of proper information, he met Colonel Adams at the head of a considerable force, and could not avoid a battle. He was defeated, with the loss of most of his infantry, and all his artillery, saving only his horse and light troops. He then made an effort to reach the capital of Sindia, hoping for aid, or at least protection, from this most powerful of the Mahratta chieftains; but all the passes were strictly guarded. His distress became greater every day;

his followers deserted in vast numbers, and the English drew their nets round him so closely that he could not hope long to escape. He then opened a correspondence with Sir John Malcolm. After some discussion, it was agreed that he should surrender, and that, on being secured in a pension of eight lacks of rupees (about £100,000), he should renounce the dignity of peishwa, with all his claims as a sovereign; spending the rest of his days in some holy city at a distance from the seat of his former dominion. The sum was regarded by the Marquis of Hastings as too large; though, considering it as the final adjustment with a prince who ranked in authority and power above all others at that time in India, it does not appear very extravagant. The apprehension that his revenue would be employed by him as an instrument for regaining his political influence has not been realized. The ex-peishwa almost immediately resigned himself to voluptuous indulgences, to which he had been always addicted, and sought to drown in them every recollection of his former schemes and greatness.

While the territory of Poonah was agitated by these violent commotions, a scene almost exactly similar was passing at Nagpore. Appa Saheb had invited the British troops with the sole view of maintaining his own situation as regent; and so long as he judged them necessary for that object he remained faithful. At length he got rid by assassination of the young prince, and placed himself on the *guddee*, as the seat was called to which the dignity of rajah was attached. He then considered himself independent of foreign aid, and began to view it with the dislike so generally felt by all per-

sons in his condition. He was thus led to enter into that confederacy against the British power which was formed among the Mahratta chiefs in consequence of the Pindaree war. He was observed to carry on a most active correspondence with the peishwa while the latter was maturing his plans of aggression. The first treaty which that prince was compelled to sign greatly abated the courage of his ally, which was revived, however, by the intelligence of his having again taken up arms and attacked the English subsidiary force. The subsequent retreat of Bajee Rao threw him into much hesitation and uncertainty, though at length it resulted in the hazardous determination to follow his example. On the 24th November 1817, Mr Jenkins, the British resident, was invited to see his highness invested with a dress of honour; having assumed the juree putka or golden streamer, an emblem of high command, both of which had been transmitted by the peishwa. Our countryman declined attendance, not without expressing indignation at the rajah's acceptance of these honours at such a moment; and indeed it seems to have been an imprudent and premature insult, by which the English were put on their guard.

The subsidiary force now stationed at Nagpore was very small. It consisted only of two battalions of native infantry, with detachments of cavalry and artillery; and the whole, being much reduced by sickness, did not amount to 1400 men. The rajah's army, on the contrary, comprised 10,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including 3000 or 4000 very brave Arab troops. The residency was situated outside the town, and separated from it by a ridge rising at each extremity into low hills, which were hastily

occupied as defensive posts. At sunset the picquets were fired upon by the Arab infantry, and soon after a general discharge of artillery was opened upon all the positions, particularly those on the smaller hill. This was continued till two in the morning with considerable effect, the first officer in command on that station being killed, and the second wounded. The English, during the remainder of the night, made the best preparations in their power against the more serious attack which was anticipated in the morning. Accordingly at daybreak the charge was renewed with increased fury. At ten a tumbril burst on the smaller hill, which threw the troops into some confusion; the Arabs rushed on with loud cries, the sepoys were seized with panic and fled, abandoning the guns and the wounded, who were immediately put to the sword. The enemy then opened a heavy fire on the larger hill, when several officers fell, and among them Mr Sotheby, the resident's assistant, a young man of distinguished merit, while he was endeavouring to rally and restore the courage of his men. The dismay of the troops, the cries of the women and children, the vast numbers and increasing confidence of the enemy, seemed to portend the most fatal result. Yet, even then, resources were found in British firmness and courage. Captain Fitzgerald, who had withdrawn the cavalry within the residency-grounds, seeing the critical state of the infantry, and the fire already opening upon his station, felt that affairs could be retrieved only by one of those bold attacks which a native army can scarcely ever resist. He led his few horsemen to the charge, drove every thing before him, took two guns and turned them against the enemy. The troops on the larger hill,

animated by this example, resumed courage, and, raising loud shouts, opened a brisk fire on the assailants. A party dashed across to the smaller hill, from which the rajah's followers were driven in their turn, and about noon were repulsed at every point. Yet the British had lost a fourth of their number, and their ammunition was drawing to a close, so that had Appa persevered, he must have finally succeeded in cutting off the detachment,—an event which would have produced the strongest sensation over all India. But he remained inactive, while English re-enforcements were poured in from every quarter. On the 12th December, General Doveton arrived with the strong reserve under his command. It then became impossible for Saheb to hope for success; he had already obtained an armistice, and now inquired as to the terms on which a final accommodation might be effected. Mr Jenkins replied that nothing could now be accepted short of entire submission,—the disbanding of his troops, the delivering up of all his forts and artillery, and his own presence as a hostage at the British residency. It was, however, intimated, that, on his complying fully with these requisitions, he would be restored to nearly his former condition, being required only to maintain a subsidiary force, and submit to a certain degree of control. When the troops, however, marched into Nagpore to take possession of the ordnance, they were saluted with a hot fire, and suffered some loss before they could seize the guns and compel the Arabs, who took the chief part in this resistance, to retire within the fort. As they refused to surrender, a siege was immediately commenced, and a practicable breach appeared to have been made in the gate; but when

the assault was given, it was found to be so secured by interior walls, that the English were obliged to retreat with considerable damage. Preparations were then made to invest the place on a more regular plan; but the Arabs, satisfied with the display of valour which they had already made, capitulated on the condition of being allowed to march out with their baggage and private property.

As none of these transactions could be brought home to Appa Saheb, he was not made responsible for them. On the surrender of Nagpore he was liberated, and received notice of the terms on which he would be allowed to retain his seat on the guddee. These consisted in his being placed entirely on the same footing with the nizam; having his military force subjected to the control of the Company, and even his ministers appointed by them. The rajah expressed his dissatisfaction only by offering to retire altogether on a liberal pension; but this was not considered admissible. He forthwith began to intrigue, with the view of shaking off this hated dependence. Troops were levied, the governors of fortresses and the mountain-chiefs were instructed to muster their forces, and give every possible annoyance to the English; finally, a secret correspondence was discovered with Bajee Rao, who being invited to join his army to the standard of the peishwa, had actually taken steps for that purpose. Mr Jenkins hereupon deemed it indispensable to call upon Appa to resume his place within the residency; and this not being complied with, a party was sent who effected his arrest, fortunately without having recourse to violence. It is less difficult, however, to seize Indian chiefs than to keep them: the rajah being mildly treated, and access pro-

cured to him by several of his adherents, a plan was arranged for his escape in the disguise of a sepoy. He went off at two in the morning, and the discovery was not made till daylight; so that, relays of horses having been provided, all pursuit was vain. As the Pindaree war, however, was now terminated, and Bajee Rao reduced to the last extremity, he was unable to do more than excite desultory hostilities in the mountainous districts. The English were thus able, on their own terms, to place on the guddee Bajee Rao, a grandson of Raghojee Bhonslay, while the administration was placed entirely under their own control.

Since the termination of the Pindaree contest no important event or acquisition has distinguished the history of British power in Indostan. The only war undertaken on a great scale was the arduous but finally successful one with the Birman empire, by which the Company gained a considerable territory along the Bay of Bengal. There occurred, however, one hostile movement, the narrative of which must not be omitted. After the death of the Rajah of Bhurtpore in 1825, his legitimate heir, Bulwunt Singh, being dethroned by Doorjun Sâl, his cousin, applied for aid to Sir David Ochterlony, then resident at Delhi. That officer embraced the prince's cause; but his conduct in doing so was disavowed by the governor-general, Lord Amherst, who showed a disposition to proceed upon the old principle of non-interference. Farther information, however, induced him to change this intention, and Lord Combermere was ordered to march upon the city and expel the usurper. This able commander accordingly, with

25,000 men and an ample train of artillery, proceeded to attack that celebrated fortress. The siege was begun on the 23d December; but it was soon found that cannon-shot could not penetrate mud-walls sixty feet thick, and that it would be necessary to employ mining operations. By means of these a breach was effected on the 17th January 1826; the assault was given next morning, and after a gallant defence of two hours, in which many veterans who had triumphantly fought in the former siege took an active part, the place was carried; Doorjun was made prisoner; and there remained no longer in Indostan a fortress that had successfully defied the British arms. While this conflict lasted a general ferment was observable among the surrounding principalities; and Bishop Heber doubts not, that had the attack failed, the whole country westward of the Jumna would have risen in arms, at least so far as to resume the predatory system of warfare. This triumph, however, checked the disposition to revolt, and completely confirmed the supremacy of Britain over the whole of India.

CHAPTER VI.

Hindoo History and Mythology.

General Aspect of the Hindoo People—Absence of authentic History—Historical Poems—Indian Chronology—Series of Dynasties—Mythology—Ideas of the Divine Nature—Brama—Vishnu—His Avatars or Transformations—Siva—Doorga—Kalee—Minor Deities—Worship of Rivers—Of the Brute Creation—A Future State—Transmigration of Souls—Ancient Temples—Elephanta—Kenneri—Carli—Ellora—Mahabalipoor—Pagoda at Tanjore—Temples in Rajpootana—Modern Structures—Religious Rites—Mendicity—Pilgrimages—Penances—Self-immolation—Idol Cars—Suttee—Infanticide—Hindoo Sects—Vishnuvites—Sivites—Boodhists—Seiks—Native Christians—Jews.

HAVING thus traced the varying fortunes of India till nearly the whole of that vast empire was subjected to British control, we shall now attempt to delineate its social and political condition, both as respects its own numerous population, and the military and civil arrangements by means of which the conquerors hold it in subjection.

In this survey the most conspicuous object is that native race, celebrated from all antiquity, who still form a vast majority of its inhabitants. The Hindoos, in the wide extent of territory over which they are spread, present many varied aspects; yet a striking similarity of religion, of language diversified only by dialects, of manners and institutions, and even in some degree of external form, proclaim them to be throughout the same people. Amid great blemishes too, they have undeniably, with the exception of the European nations, or those sprung

from Europe, attained a degree of civilisation, and made a progress in the arts, beyond any other people. Of Orientals, the Chinese alone can enter into competition with them; yet though the polity and institutions of that people claim, in some respects, even a pre-eminence, they do not, on the whole, exhibit a character so intellectual and interesting.

It would have been desirable to introduce a sketch of the history of the Hindoos prior to that of their Mohammedan conquerors and rulers. But there exist no materials suited to the accomplishment of such a purpose. Amid the voluminous writings of the Hindoos, we find the most lamentable deficiency of historical records. Previous to the establishment of Moslem dominion, these appear only through the veil of a mythology at once poetical and extravagant. The theology, history, poetry, literature, and social condition, of this remarkable people, are all so closely interwoven, as to make it impossible satisfactorily to consider any one, unless in connexion with all the rest.

The Hindoos, it must be admitted, possess ancient works, which are generally believed to present somewhat of an historical character. Such are a great part of the Puranas, and the singular compositions termed the Mahabarat and the Ramayana. Yet these are religious poems exhibiting the actions of gods, not of men, and leading the reader through a maze of wonder and mystery. The deities and heroes, whose exploits they celebrate, appear indeed to have been ancient monarchs who held sway over India; but the details are so palpably fabulous, and at the same time so childishly absurd, as to be unfit for any of the objects of genuine history. They convey no idea of the character of the actors, the manners of the age, or the train of human events.

The system of Indian chronology, though it bears a character equally extravagant, has yet, from its apparent research and imposing aspect, excited much attention among the sages of Europe. The reader will learn from Professor Wallace's treatise in the third volume, their measurement of time by astronomical epochs, manwantaras, days of Brama, and years of the gods. It is enough to remark in this place, that the Maha Yug, or great divine age, through which mankind are now passing, consists of four human ages, the last and worst of which is at present revolving. These ages, of unequal and continually decreasing length, are the

Satya Yug, which lasted	1,728,000 years.
Treta Yug,	1,296,000
Dwapar Yug,	864,000
Cali Yug, which is to last	432,000

Of the dark era in which we live only about five thousand years have yet elapsed. Of the satya yug, the golden age of innocence, there remains only a dim and pleasing tradition; the great flood, said to have arrived at its close, having swept away almost all its memorials. But the Indian annals, such as they are, extend over the entire series of the treta and dwapar yugs, and consequently comprehend a period considerably exceeding two millions of years. This chronology has been embraced with eager credulity by a number of learned men in Europe, who have proclaimed that all the nations of the West are only of yesterday, when compared with the boundless ages through which the Hindoo records extend. There is, however, one circumstance which breaks at once the spell of this imaginary duration. Although India possesses nothing which can approach to the character of history, many of her princes and great men pre-

serve lists of kings which, from their coincidence, though found in different and distant quarters, appear to be substantially correct. These extend through the whole of the three ages; but instead of that almost endless roll of names which ought to have been supplied during two millions of years, we find, by Mr Bentley's list, in the treta only sixty-six, and in the dwapar forty-seven kings; consequently the potentates of the first period must have had an average reign of 19,636; those of the second of 18,383 years. It is maintained, indeed, on the faith of tradition, that Yadhisthur, the great hero, held sway during upwards of twenty-seven thousand years. But if we assign to the Indian monarchs the average of human life, we shall reduce these ages to an extent perfectly consistent with European history and the Mosaic records. Mr Bentley considers seventeen years as the mean length of a reign in a long series of princes. Even should we, with Colonel Tod, allow from twenty to twenty-two years, the Indian dynasties will not pass the limits of our established chronology.

Although we find thus transmitted from an early period lists of Hindoo kings which may be considered tolerably authentic, the details, as already observed, are either too meagre or too extravagant to be of any value as materials for history. A few very general outlines can alone be traced. Two races of monarchs are recorded as claiming descent respectively from Surya and Indu, the sun and the moon. The former established their metropolis at Ayodhia, the modern Oude, still a large city, and described as then of immense extent. The lunar branch had several successive capitals; first, Mahesvati in Malwa, next Allahabad, called the Pooraj,

and afterwards Hastinapoori, higher up the Ganges. Colonel Tod, upon some probable grounds, considers that the subjects of this empire must have entered it as invaders from the great plain of Scythia or Tartary. Several bloody wars were waged between these states, striving for pre-eminence or final conquest. The most dreadful of these contests took place at the close of the treta yug, in which almost all the powers of India appear to have been engaged. It is celebrated under the title of the Mahabarat, or great war, in the remarkable Hindoo composition bearing that title. The chief actors were Krishna, Arjoona, Yadhisthur, and Jarasandha; the first of whom has, as an incarnation of Vishnu, been enrolled among the principal deities. This sanguinary conflict appears to have terminated in the premature fate of almost all the leaders on both sides.

The lunar and solar dynasties continued to reign contemporaneously during almost the whole of the third or dwapar yug. Yet the prevalence of fable is strongly marked in the genealogy of the leading princes throughout this period; one of whom is the offspring of Pavana, the god of the winds, another of Indra or the firmament, a third of the river Ganges. These two lines, according to Sir William Jones, come down for thirty generations into the cali yug or present age, when both are supposed to have become extinct. There reigned, however, along with them another dynasty, sprung from the lunar branch, which rivalled and soon surpassed them both in power. This was that of the kings of Magadha, whom the Greeks found reigning at Palibothra over the greater part of the Gangetic provinces, and spreading their sway even to the remoter quarters of India. Chandragupta, after the

murder of Nanda, one of the Magadha kings, became the founder of a new dynasty called Maurya, and is supposed to be the same with Sandracottus, whom the ambassadors of Seleucus found ruling at Palibothra. Other successful usurpers established the dynasties of Sunga, Canna, and Andhra, till that of Magadha became extinct by the death of Chandrabija; which, according to Sir William Jones, took place in 452 B.C. Very considerable obscurity envelops the succession of Indian princes during the next four hundred years. In that period there would seem to have been no extended empire, though Sir William Jones and Colonel Tod have collected lists of kings belonging to some detached and local dynasties. About the Christian era, however, Vicramaditya and Salivahana disputed the supremacy, and rank among the most potent of Indian warriors and sovereigns. The relations concerning them bear a somewhat more sober character. They rank as mortal, not as celestial heroes; yet as Vicramaditya is said to have had power over spirits, and to have made captive the king of the devils, his contemporaries, it would seem, were by no means inclined to abandon their love of the marvellous. Malwa being mentioned as his favourite region, it may be concluded to have been his native one, and that he employed its rude inhabitants in extending his dominion over the more fertile provinces. Major Wilford has traced nine individuals to whom the name has been applied, of whom one appears contemporary with Solomon; and probably this may have been an appellative, like that of Cæsar, applied in succession to monarchs of the same dynasty.

After this period the history of the Hindoos again relapses into obscurity, giving occasion to Mr Mill's

remark, that while the annals of every other nation become more distinct as they approach a modern date, those of India, on the contrary, become darker and more imperfect. This is probably to be accounted for by the fact, that the country had again ceased to be united in any extensive empire, being split into those small kingdoms, which were successfully assailed by the Ghiznevide conqueror before they could be induced to form a general league to oppose him.

After this very imperfect sketch of the history of the Hindoo people, a more interesting and accessible object remains in the delineation of their mind and character. Under this view their religious belief and mythology must first command our attention. It forms as it were the basis of their whole social existence. Their ceremonies employ every day and almost every hour; its ministers rank above every other class, even above kings; there is no history, scarcely any poetry, but what relates to the actions of the gods and deified heroes. Unhappily this devotion, unenlightened by divine instruction, and misled by the mysterious perversities of the human heart, instead of being a lamp to their path, has involved them in an abyss of absurdity, and impelled them to follies and even crimes, of which there is scarcely an example in any other pagan worship.

Notwithstanding its extravagance, the Hindoo system claims attention, from its striking features, from the view which it affords of the history of the human mind, and from its paramount influence on the ideas and institutions of the natives themselves. It is impossible, therefore, without premising an outline of this religion, to convey any distinct idea of the character of those who profess it.

The learned books of this people contain some

sublime doctrines respecting the nature of the Deity. They distinctly recognise the existence of one supreme and invisible Author and Ruler of the universe. They even describe his attributes in lofty terms, superior to those employed in the philosophical writings of Plato, and approaching nearer than any other human composition to the delineations of the inspired penmen. We may illustrate this by quoting the Gayatri, or holiest text of the Vedas, from Sir William Jones' translation.

"Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun the godhead, who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress towards his holy seat.

"What the sun and light are to this visible world, that are the Supreme Good and Truth to the intellectual and invisible universe; and as our corporeal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire certain knowledge by meditating on the light of truth which emanates from the Being of beings; that is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path to beatitude.

"Without hand or foot he runs rapidly, and grasps firmly; without eyes he sees, without ears he hears all; he knows whatever can be known; but there is none who knows him. Him the wise call the great supreme pervading spirit."

The Supreme Mind, according to the Braminical system, displays its energies in the three grand operations of creating, preserving, and destroying. These are expressed by the letters A U M united in the mystic syllable O'M, which the Hindoo always pronounces with the profoundest veneration. These three powers are separately embodied in Bra-

ma, Vishnu, and Siva, whose names, according to the philosophers, express only attributes of the one Supreme Mind; but the popular theology views them as distinct persons, with visible, human, and even fantastic forms, mixing with mortals, committing extravagant and often scandalous actions, controlled and oppressed by inferior deities, giants, and even by men. Their history accordingly presents a strange collection of the loftiest and the meanest, the purest and most corrupted, features in moral nature.*

* In the engraving here given of the principal Hindoo deities, the figure in the centre, with four heads, is Brama. On his right, in front, is Vishnu, and behind, Indra. On the left, Rama is seated in front, while Siva stands behind. These figures are taken from Sir William Jones, Asiatic Researches, vol. i., except Siva, the representation of whom is borrowed from Sonnerat.

To Brama, the first and highest person in the Hindoo Trinity, is assigned the work of creation. Mr Ward thinks that he is considered by the Indian sages as the Soul of the world; yet, from the examination of their writings, it does not appear that they took so refined a view of the subject. They represent him rather as having produced or drawn the universe out of himself, so that all that ever was, or is, once formed a part of his essence. His own origin was very singular. The Supreme Mind, it is said, having by a thought created the waters, laid in them an egg, which remained inactive for many millions of years, till Brama, by the energy of his own thought, caused it to divide, and from it he himself was born in the shape of the divine male, famed in all worlds as the great forefather of spirits.

Brama, among the Indian deities, holds decidedly the pre-eminence, sharing even the essence of the Supreme Mind; yet, perhaps from the very circumstance of this lofty position, he attracts comparatively little attention or worship. He has neither temples erected, nor sacrifices offered to him, nor festivals celebrated in his honour. He gives name indeed to the great caste of the Bramins or priests; but no sects derive from him their appellation, or specially devote their lives to his service. In return, the priests, in regard to him, have indulged less in those scandalous and indecent fictions which crowd the history of inferior divinities.

Vishnu, in the sacred annals of India, makes a much more frequent and conspicuous figure. In his character of preserver, or more properly deliverer, he is represented as having interposed when-

ever the world and the race of men were threatened with any peculiar danger. The avatars of Vishnu, his descents to the earth in various animated forms, furnish the most fertile theme of Hindoo legend and poetry. The chiefs and heroes, whose exploits appeared to indicate a celestial origin, were considered as incarnations of this deity. These illustrious personages, in becoming Vishnu, did not lose altogether their own identity; they acquired a sort of compound existence, and had worship paid to them under both characters.

It were tedious, as well as disgusting, to trace at any length the many marvellous and ridiculous transformations ascribed to this god. A few instances will afford a sufficient idea of the wild, though sometimes sublime, ravings in which the framers of the Hindoo pantheon indulge. Vishnu made his first appearance on earth as a fish, so small as to be conveniently placed in a vase of water. This wonderful animal, however, successively expanded his dimensions, till not the vase only, but a cistern, a pool, a lake, became insufficient to contain him. Being at length thrown into the ocean, he appeared, blazing like gold, a million of leagues in extent. The narrative concludes with an account of the fish rising and destroying a giant. Vishnu assumed secondly the figure of a boar, who grew always larger and larger, till with his tusks he raised up the earth from the bottom of the waters into which it had sunk.

The third presentation of this deity was to act a conspicuous part in that extraordinary process called the Churning of the Ocean. There is no theme on which Hindoo poetry and mythology have thrown

out such a crowd of wildly luxuriant images. The scene opens on Mount Meru, "a most exalted mass of glory, reflecting the sunny rays from the splendid surface of its gilded horns. Many celestial medicinal plants adorn its sides, and it stands piercing the heaven with its aspiring summit,—a mighty hill, inaccessible even by the human mind. It is adorned with trees and pleasant streams, and resoundeth with the delightful songs of various birds." On its pinnacle the angels and deities began to meditate on the means of procuring the Amreeta juice, the grand draught which confers immortality. It was then arranged between Vishnu, here called Narayan, and Brama, that the ocean should be churned like a pot of milk by the united strength of Soors and Asoors, the good and evil powers, till it should throw up the precious liquid. Thereupon Ananta, king of the serpents, raised up Mount Mandar, and placed it upon the back of Koornaraj, king of the tortoises. Another mighty serpent, named Vasoakee, was then fastened to the mountain to be employed as a rope; whereupon angels and demons united in grasping the serpent by the head and tail, and whirling it with such violence, that "the roaring of the ocean, while violently agitated, was like the bellowing of a mighty cloud. Thousands of the various productions of the waters were torn to pieces by the mountain, and confounded with the briny flood; and every specific being of the deep, and all the inhabitants of the great abyss which is below the earth, were annihilated. The forest trees were dashed against each other, and precipitated from its utmost height with all the birds thereon." Such at length was the effect of this tre-

mendous agitation, that the whole of the mighty deep was converted into one mass of butter. The performers being by this time completely exhausted, were endowed with fresh strength by Narayan; and after the movement had been for some time continued under his direction, "there arose from out the troubled deep, first the moon, with a pleasing countenance, shining with ten thousand beams of gentle light; then Soora Devee, the goddess of wine, and the white horse called Oochisrava." Other similar apparitions followed, till at length the Dew Dhanwantaree, in human shape, came forth, holding in his hand a white vessel filled with the immortal juice Amreeta.

The successful termination of this grand experiment was not immediately attended with the happy effects that had been anticipated. A combat on the most immense scale arose between the Soors and Asoors. The imagery employed to describe it is certainly not without grandeur, though tinctured with bombast and exaggeration. "Millions of sighs and groans arise on every side, and the sun is overcast with blood, as they clash their arms, and wound each other with their dreadful instruments of destruction. Now the dauntless Asoors strive with repeated strength to crush the Soors with rocks and mountains, which, whirled in vast numbers into the heavens, appeared like scattered clouds, and fell with all the trees thereon in millions of fear-exciting torrents, striking violently against each other with a mighty noise; and in their fall the earth, with all its fields and forests, is driven from its foundation. They thunder furiously at each other as they roll along the field, and spend their strength in mutual conflict." Victory at length declared in favour of the benevolent

powers, and Narayan was intrusted with the Amreeta, to be preserved for the use of the immortals.

Vishnu, in his fourth appearance as half-man, half-lion, subdued a band of giants who had conquered the earth, and even dethroned Indra, the king of heaven. His fifth descent was to vanquish Bali, an earthly king, who, by the mysterious sacrifice of a hundred horses, had acquired supernatural powers, and threatened the conquest of the celestial regions. But the manner in which the deity is made to effect this grand object is silly in the extreme. He appeared as a Bramin of very diminutive stature, and sought merely the gift of so much ground as he could pass over in three steps. Having received this small boon, he suddenly resumed his natural dimensions, placed one foot on heaven, and another on earth; a third then projected from his belly, for which Bali being unable to furnish a place, was obliged to atone for this failure by descending to the world beneath.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth avatars were in the characters of Parasu Rama, Rama, and Bala Rama, to deliver the world from successive monsters and giants. His exploits, as the second of these personages, furnish the subject of the celebrated sacred epic called the Ramayana. But the transmutation upon which the Hindoo writers most fondly dwell, is that into their favourite Krishna, who has already been alluded to as a powerful sovereign and formidable warrior. Tradition represents him as having passed his youthful days in a pastoral retirement, and the extravagant fancy of the Hindoo poets caught hold of this legend. They exhibit him at this period as the lover of sixteen thou-

sand milkmaids; to gain whose favour he converted himself into an equal number of sighing swains, while each fond maiden fancied herself the sole object of Krishna's tenderness. Under this character, much more than by those warlike attributes which enabled him to vanquish the giant Kungsu, this deity has acquired numerous and devoted worshippers, and become the chief theme of lyric and amorous poetry among the Hindoos.

In the ninth avatar, Vishnu assumed the form of Boodh, the author of a rival creed, distinct from that of Brama, but which, notwithstanding, by this incarnation was admitted into a certain alliance with it. More will be said hereafter on this subject. The tenth avatar, when Vishnu will descend mounted on a white horse, and armed with a scimitar, to root out evil from the earth, is as yet only the object of fond expectation.

Siva, the third member of the Hindoo triad, is represented as passing through an equal variety of adventures, most of them in the highest degree strange and unnatural; but he does not appear under so many characters, nor are his exploits on the whole so striking. Although the Destroyer be his proper appellation, it seems more applicable to Doorga, his female partner, whose aspect and deeds do indeed combine whatever is most awful and terrific. He is represented as being of a silver colour, exhibiting various shapes, having sometimes five faces, sometimes only one with three eyes. Elsewhere he is seen naked, riding on a bull, with serpents hanging from his ears like jewels. Worship is rendered to him by numerous votaries, who exalt him as the supreme Deity, greater and more ancient than either

Brama or Vishnu. He is peculiarly revered in the mountain-territory; and, under the appellation of Mahadeo, is described as throned in the most inaccessible precipices of the Himmalehs. But the chief disgrace of his religion consists in the lingam, a symbol resembling the phallus of the ancients, which is not only displayed in the temples, but worn round the neck of all his votaries. Yet it is remarkable that these sectaries make a boast of leading more pure and even austere lives than the generality of Hindoo devotees.

Doorga is the chief among the female deities, and indeed the most potent and warlike member of the Hindoo pantheon. The Greeks had Minerva, an armed and martial goddess, whose prowess equalled that of their greatest male divinities; but she was a meek and pacific maiden when compared with the spouse of the Indian Destroyer. The wars waged by the latter, and the giants who fell beneath the might of her arm, form prominent themes in the wild records of Hindoo mythology. Her original name was Parvati; but hearing that a giant named Doorga had enslaved the gods, she resolved to destroy him. He is said to have led into the field a hundred millions of chariots and one hundred and twenty millions of elephants. In order to meet this overwhelming force, Parvati caused nine millions of warriors, and a corresponding supply of weapons, to issue out of her own substance. The contest, however, was ultimately decided by her personal struggle with the giant, whose destruction she then succeeded in effecting. In honour of this achievement, the gods conferred upon their deliverer the name of the huge enemy whom she had overcome.

Doorga has equalled Vishnu in the variety of shapes into which she has multiplied herself, and of names by which she has been distinguished. The most remarkable being with whom she has shared her identity is Cali, or Kalee, who under her own name is a principal object of Hindoo adoration. Every humble characteristic of her original is in Kalee heightened and carried to the extreme. She is black, with four arms, wearing two dead bodies as ear-rings, a necklace of skulls, and the hands of several slaughtered giants round her waist as a girdle. Her eyebrows and breast appear streaming with the blood of monsters whom she has slain and devoured. Yet India has no divinity more popular, nor one on whose shrine more lavish gifts are bestowed. Not content, as the male deities generally are, with the simple offerings of rice, fruit, vegetables, and milk, she must see her altars flow with the blood of goats and other animals. The ancient books contain directions for the performance even of human sacrifices to this cruel goddess. The bands of robbers by whom Bengal is infested hold Kalee in peculiar honour, looking specially to her for protection and aid, and invoking, by dark incantations, her blessing on their unhallowed exploits.

It would be of little interest to enter into details respecting the minor divinities, whose number is very great. Indra, though presiding over the elements, and invested with the lofty title of King of Heaven, is not destined to reign for ever; he has even, by the efforts of men and giants, been already repeatedly driven from his station. Kartikeya, the god of war, riding on a peacock, with six

heads and twelve hands, in which numerous weapons are brandished, presents a striking specimen of the fantastic forms in which Hindoo superstition invests its deities. Ganesa, a fat personage with the head of an elephant, is so revered that nothing must be begun without an invocation to him, whether it be an act of religious worship, opening a book, setting out on a journey, or even sitting down to write a letter. Surya is the deified sun; Pavana is the god of the winds; Agnee, of fire; Varuna, of the waters. Yama, the Indian Pluto, pronounces sentence on the dead; but his judgment-seat is not beneath the earth, but in its southern extremity, at a place called Yamalaya. A large share of homage is attracted to him by the mingled influence of fear and hope.

Among a superstitious people, it is not wonderful that the grand objects of nature should be personified and excite a feeling of devout veneration. Great rivers, from their mysterious sources, their broad

expanse, and their unceasing motion, tend to inspire ideas peculiarly solemn. They are accordingly very favourite objects of Hindoo worship. There is scarcely in heaven or earth a name more sacred than Ganges. Its waters are said to descend from above, and to purify from every stain the man who undergoes in them a thorough ablution. To die on its banks, moistened by its stream, is deemed a sure passport to paradise. Journeys extending to thousands of miles are undertaken for the purpose of beholding and bathing in its sacred current. Many rash devotees even yield themselves to a voluntary death amid its waves, fancying that they thus secure complete felicity in the future world; others devote their offspring to a similar destiny. In the courts of Bengal a portion of the waters of the Ganges is produced, upon which witnesses are required to make oath,—this form of attestation being esteemed of all others the most binding, though some scruple to employ an object so holy for this secular purpose. The Nerbudda, the Godavery, the Kistna, the Cavery, and almost every stream that rolls through this vast region, have likewise a sacred character, though none in so eminent a degree as the Ganges.

The Hindoo is also much addicted to a worship which indicates the lowest degradation of the human mind,—that of the brute creation. His most exalted deities, the creators and preservers of the world, scarcely command a reverence equal to that bestowed on the cow. This useful animal is saluted with every expression of profound affection and veneration. She is called the mother of the gods and of three worlds. The highest deities are humbly entreated to appear under the form of milch

kine, as that in which they will be most grateful and serviceable to their votaries. Even their dung is thought to confer a holy character upon every object on which it is smeared. Two great Indian princes, the Rajah of Travancore and the Peishwa Ragoba, being each enclosed in the body of a golden cow and then drawn out, were regarded as having experienced a new birth; the statue was immediately cut in pieces and distributed among the Bramins. In their treaties with the British, the native princes on some occasions urged most earnestly, that the soldiers should not be permitted to kill a cow within the precincts of their territory.

The monkey also ranks high among the objects of Hindoo worship. The exploits of Hanuman, with his innumerable host of fourfooted brethren, are among the most conspicuous incidents in the Ramayana. Princes and great men often indulge in the strange freak of celebrating with pomp and profusion the marriage of monkeys. The animal, like a great chief, is seated in a palanquin, and followed by a train of singing and dancing girls, amid the display of fireworks. Garoora, the king of birds, is another object of veneration, though not equally distinguished.

The ideas of man respecting an invisible world and a future state of retribution form a most important element in his religious belief. On this subject the sentiments of devout Hindoos are often profound, overcoming in some instances the love of life, and impelling them to strange modes of suicide.

But their creed derives its peculiar character from the tenet, so generally diffused throughout the East, respecting the transmigration of souls. Accord-

ing to this belief, the spirit of man after death is not conveyed into a different state of existence, but goes to animate some other mortal body, or even one belonging to the brute creation. The receptacle into which it then enters is decided by the course of action followed during the present life. The virtuous man may rise from an humble caste to the rank of a prince or even of a Bramin, while the depraved not only sink into degradation as human beings, but even have their souls enclosed in the bodies of animals. With this view the Hindoo oracles endeavour to establish a certain conformity between the offences committed and the condition under which they are expiated. The thief is converted into some animal addicted to steal the articles which were the wonted objects of his own depredation. The pilferer of grain is metamorphosed into a rat; while he who stole roots or fruit becomes an ape. The person thus lowered in the scale of being, must pass through a long succession of degraded births ere he can reassume the human form and endowments. This belief is so familiar to the Hindoo that his conversation is filled with allusions to it. If he see any one suffering under evils that seem unmerited, he at once pronounces them the penalty of sin committed in a previous stage and form of existence. Even on seeing a cow or dog receive a severe beating, he infers that the soul which animates them must, under its human shape, have committed some offence worthy of such castigation. Wives, who consider themselves injuriously treated by their husbands, or servants by their masters, indulge the earnest hope that in some future state of being they shall exchange conditions, and obtain the opportunity of a signal retaliation.

This doctrine, which might seem to confine human souls to this earthly sphere, does not however exclude the belief, that in many instances they are conveyed to a heaven or a hell. These places of reward and punishment are minutely described, and set forth with that studied adaptation to merits and offences, which makes a striking part of the Hindoo system. There are celestial mansions, variously graduated, to be reached only by Bramins or persons of high attainments, or for performing works of extraordinary sanctity. These bear much resemblance to the paradise of Mohammed, being scenes of voluptuous enjoyment perfumed by sweet flowers, fanned by the softest breezes, glittering with gold and gems, enlivened by the song, the dance, and the society of beautiful damsels. Some ardent devotees aspire to a still loftier destiny. They hope to be absorbed into the essence of Bram or the Supreme Mind, where they shall repose for ever on an unruffled sea of bliss. Hell is in like manner composed of many compartments, corresponding to the various iniquities, on account of which erring mortals may be doomed to enter its dismal precincts. The unmerciful are to be tormented by snakes; the drunkard is to be thrown into pans of liquid fire; the despiser of a Bramin is to stick fast in the mud with his head downwards; the inhospitable to have his eyes torn out by vultures; the seducer to be embraced by an image of red-hot iron. Some of these abodes are covered with darkness, others filled with boiling oil or burning copper; one is crowded with animals and reptiles, another planted thick with thorns. The ground is here composed of deep mire, there it bristles with needles. Thus it is manifest, the Hindoo system, though in a some-

what fanciful manner, affords a certain sanction to all the various branches of moral duty. Still, the bestowing of gifts upon Bramins, the observance of certain ceremonies, the performance of a long and difficult penance, are believed to constitute the higher degrees of merit; atoning even of themselves for the most enormous sins, and ensuring an endless enjoyment of felicity.

The temples erected for the celebration of Hindoo worship appear to have been in ancient times of the most costly and magnificent description. Their early structures bear also a peculiar form, so dissimilar to those of modern date that they would seem to be the monuments of some mighty people who no longer exist. The most remarkable are those found in different parts of the Deccan, not consisting of masonry, but excavated in the sides of mountains, which, in many instances, have been entirely cut out into columns, temples, and images. The most celebrated, perhaps from having first attracted observation, is Elephanta, termed by Mr Maurice "the wonder of Asia." It is situated about half-way up the declivity of a hill, in a small wooded island near Bombay. Three entrances are afforded between four rows of massive columns, and the principal one is 220 feet long by 150 broad. The most conspicuous object, placed in the centre, is a triple head of colossal dimensions, being six feet from the chin to the crown. It was long supposed to represent the Hindoo triad; but is now believed to be simply a figure of Siva, to whom this temple is dedicated, and with whose images it is filled. On the neighbouring and larger island are the cave-temples of Kenneri, less spacious, but more lofty, and equally rich

in sculptures. A whole hill was here formed into an excavated city, with tanks, stairs, and every accommodation for a large population; but all is now deserted and silent. The great cave of Carli on the opposite coast is similar to those of Kenneri, but still more spacious and elegant. Again, near the ancient city of Deoghir and the modern Dowlatabad are the wondrous structures of Ellora. Here a lofty hill is completely cut out into a range of temples, and its surface covered with varied sculpture and ornaments. "The first view," says Mr Erskine, "of this desolate religious city is grand and striking, but melancholy. The number and magnificence of the subterraneous temples, the extent and loftiness of some, the endless diversity of sculpture in others, the variety of curious foliage, of minute tracery, highly wrought pillars, rich mythological designs, sacred shrines, and colossal statues, astonish but distract the mind. The empire, whose pride they must have been, has passed away, and left not a memorial behind it."

We may likewise notice Mahabalipoor, known also by the name of the Seven Pagodas, situated about thirty-five miles south of Madras. The term signifies the city of the Great Bali, and the sculptures refer chiefly to the exploits of that deified hero as well as to those of Krishna, Arjoona, and other actors in the war celebrated in the Mahabarat. While the structures in the west of India are dedicated almost exclusively to Siva, this is sacred to Vishnu, of whom, in the principal temple, there appears a colossal image sleeping on an enormous hooded snake. These monuments are not on the same gigantic scale as those at Elephanta and Kenneri; but many

of them are said to be very beautifully executed. Tradition and some remains attest the existence of a great capital near this site; but at present it is inhabited only by a few Bramins living in huts, who obtain a subsistence by exhibiting the ruins.

The pyramidal temples called pagodas are numerous in the south of India; but in grandeur and beauty they are all eclipsed by that of Tanjore, a city long celebrated as the most learned and opulent in that part of the Peninsula. It is 200 feet high, and the interior contains the figure of a bull in black granite, the dignified object in whose honour it appears to have been constructed. Lord Valentia was not allowed to enter the precincts of the temple; but from the door he obtained a view of this revered animal, which appeared to him to present rather a favourable specimen of Hindoo sculpture.

The Jains have ancient temples in Rajpootana, which may vie with the most splendid of those erected by the disciples of Brama or Boodh. One of these, built within the fortress of Kumulner, is marked by a fine style of simple and classical elegance, its form bearing even a close analogy to the temple of Theseus at Athens. Hence Colonel Tod has been induced to entertain the conjecture, that it may have been designed by Grecian architects, at an era when the kingdom of Bactriana, under Greek sovereigns, held sway over a great part of India. Another temple, of a style decidedly oriental, in the fortress of Ajmere, is one of the most perfect as well as most ancient monuments of Hindoo architecture. The façade is covered with Arabic inscriptions; but Colonel Tod thought he discovered under these the traces of Sanscrit charac-

ters, and conceives the design to have been originally Hindoo, but worked over by the less skilful hand of a Mussulman architect.

In the vicinity of Kotah, a Rajpoot territory, bordering on Malwa, Colonel Tod discovered, and has described, in his second volume, some very splendid structures. The temple at Barolli is remarkable, not for its dimensions, for it does not exceed fifty-eight feet in height, but for the profusion of sculpture with which its surface is covered; so that every stone is considered as forming a miniature building. Notwithstanding a very high antiquity, it is still in wonderful preservation, owing to the close-grained quartz-rock of which it is constructed, and to a fine marble cement spread over it. The colonel considers the sculptured figures as completely redeeming the character of ancient Hindoo art; being marked by a peculiarly easy and flowing style, and presenting some heads that would not disgrace Canova. The temple is dedicated entirely to Siva, of whom and of his warlike consort, the gateway presents two remarkably fine statues.

In the same territory occur the temples of Chandravati, the remains of the ancient city of Patun, the position of which is now occupied by the recently erected and flourishing town of Jhalra-patun. Patun, in the days of its glory, was adorned by 108 shrines, of which only two or three imperfect specimens remain. These are covered with the same profusion of chiselled and sculptured ornaments as those at Barolli. But the statuary is far inferior, and, being more modern, marks a gradual decay in the art. It is, however, much superior to the works executed in the present day, when it is

made a reproach that the Hindoo chisel can produce nothing but deformity. The rich and varied architectural ornaments, carved upon the gateways, columns, ceilings, and every part of the edifices, appear to be such as no artist in Europe could surpass. These structures have suffered much dilapidation by being used as quarries for the construction of the modern town, into whose walls thousands of sculptured divinities have been inserted.

The temples of Ganga-bheva, not far distant from Barolli, display similar art and beauty, though inferior and more modern, since a date corresponding to 955 A. D. is found on the pavement. They are chiefly distinguished by the deep forest with which they are now surrounded, and the disappearance of every trace of human habitation. "The tiger and wild boar are the only inhabitants that visit the groves of Ganga-bheva." Several gigantic trees have penetrated and rent the walls; one of them has large slabs encased in its wood, and its bark covers a whole regiment of petty gods. The cave-temples of Dhoomnar, though extensive, do not equal those of Elephanta and Carli. They are chiefly remarkable for the mixture of the Jain worship with that of Siva. Mynál in Mewar presents a most striking scene, both from its architectural beauty and the peculiarity of its situation, which is on the brink of a precipice overhanging the river and at the entrance of a huge chasm or dell, 400 feet in depth, "within which it would be death to enter," crowded with luxuriant foliage, and peopled with all the tribes of the Indian forest.

The Hindoo temples of the present day, we have already remarked, do not display a grandeur in any

degree commensurate with those of former times. Many contain only a single apartment, and may be built for about twenty-five pounds; few have more than three or four rooms. The grand ceremonies to which multitudes crowd are all celebrated in an open area fronting the gates; so that nothing is wanted within but space for the images, and accommodation for one or two attendants. These idols are composed of every possible material, and of a great variety of dimensions, from gold downwards to wood and clay, and from a height of twenty-one cubits to figures weighing one or two ounces. In their form no display is made of the art of the sculptor; they are fashioned by the smith, the potter, or any other tradesman who works in the substance out of which the god is to be fabricated. Before acquiring, however, the character of sacred objects, various offerings, mysterious touches, and incantations, must be performed by a Bramin, through whose operation they are at last supposed to receive eyes and a soul, and to become the living abode of the deity whom they represent. Those of clay are usually modelled by the worshippers themselves, merely to serve the purposes of a particular festival; the ceremonies of which are closed by casting them into the rivers.

The worship and services paid to the Hindoo deities are, generally speaking, irrational, unmeaning, and often immoral. They include no provision for instructing the body of the people in the duties of life, or even in what is supposed to be divine truth; but consist merely in acts of blind and senseless adulation to popular divinities. Every image, when lodged in its temple, has a mechanical round of daily homage performed before it, and is furnished with

a regular allowance of food, which, after remaining a certain time, is removed and applied to the use of the attendants. On the great annual festivals these offerings are profusely lavished; while the multitudes assembled in front of the temples indulge in indecent songs and extravagant motions. Mr Ward enumerates the various articles of maintenance bestowed upon Kalee in her temple at Kaleeghata, among which are 12,000 goats, 240 tons of rice, 48 cwt. of sugar, 264 cwt. of sweetmeats, and considers them as worth £9000 annually. Besides the public solemnities the devotee has a daily service to perform, explained at great length by Mr Colebrooke and Mr Ward, but of which we cannot undertake to give even an outline. Fulsome praises addressed to some chosen deity, frequently the repetition of his name for hours together, constitute the favourite occupation of the worshipper.

Among the religious duties of the Hindoo begging holds a conspicuous place. It is incumbent on all who aim at distinguished sanctity to make mendicity the only source of their subsistence; and deep is the degradation of a devotee of high class, when obliged to betake himself for support to an honest trade. The extensive prevalence of the same idea in the Romish church, where the mendicant orders enjoyed such reputation, shows it to have a foundation in human nature; but it is nowhere carried to so preposterous an extent as in Indostan. Mr Ward hesitates not to affirm, that an eighth part of the inhabitants of Bengal and Bahar subsist in this manner. Thus they form a begging population of upwards of two millions; and the alms received by them, supposing each to obtain only a rupee a-month,

will amount to three millions sterling; a sum annually extracted from the labouring classes, who in general are extremely poor.

Devout pilgrimages are in like manner performed by the Hindoos to a great extent. All the principal roads are crowded with people hastening to the sacred shrines and waters. The most celebrated temple for this purpose is that of Jagannatha or Juggernaut, in Orissa, which is also frequented by vast crowds to witness the impious rites there celebrated. Another grand object of attraction is found on the banks of the Ganges, particularly at the prayagas, or junctions with its tributary streams. The influx of the Jumna renders Allahabad one of the chief among holy cities, and to bathe at the point of confluence atones for almost all the deadly sins. Still higher value is attached to those meetings of the waters that take place in its upper course, amid the grandeur of mountain scenery. Hurdwar, where the Bagiruttee and Alacananda unite in forming the Ganges, attracts at a particular season sometimes two millions and a half of pilgrims from the remotest provinces. About 45,000 or 50,000 adventurous devotees scale the tremendous cliffs of the Himmalehs, till they reach the shrine of Bhadrinath, and some even ascend to that of Gangoutri, where the holy river is seen bursting from beneath the eternal snows. Many, however, in making their way along icy declivities, and by the side of rugged precipices and roaring torrents, either perish outright or lose partially the use of their limbs. Yet a very few proceed still farther, and penetrate the passes of the central range till they come in view of the spacious lake of Manasawara, overhung by the snowy cliffs of Caillas. Once to have beheld these

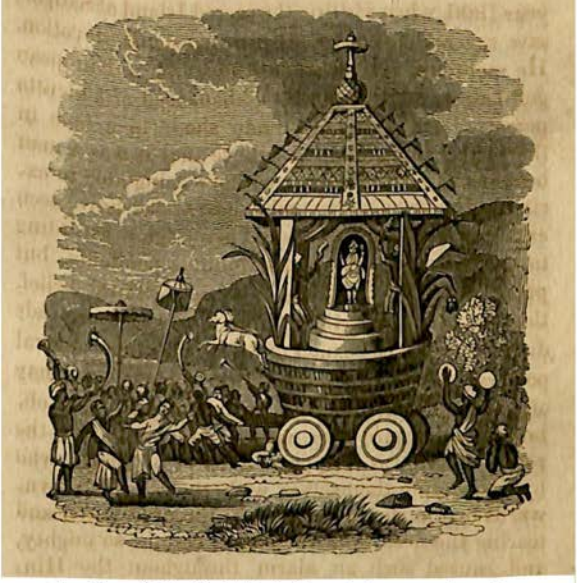
sacred waters is considered by the devout as a peculiar felicity.

Penance and self-torture are regarded as essential to the attainment of a character for holiness. Not only do devotees boast of renouncing all the decencies and pleasures of life, with all the charms of social intercourse, but they rack their invention to contrive the most painful sufferings. The yogues or fakirs live in the depth of forests, either absolutely naked or having their bodies smeared with ashes and cow-dung, their nails grown to the dimension of huge claws, their beards reaching to an immeasurable length. It is their pride to expose themselves to the tempest when it beats with its utmost fury, and to the sun when darting its intensest rays; above all, to remain fixed for long periods in constrained and fantastic attitudes. Some hold their hands above their heads till they cannot bring them down again; others clench their fists till the nails penetrate the palm; and a third class turn their faces towards the sun till they cannot regain their natural position. A certain traveller, who left one of them thus stationed, was astonished on returning to India, sixteen years after, to find him in the very same posture. There are even persons who dig a living grave, and remain buried in the earth, with only an aperture for the admission of light and food. It is chiefly by means of such preposterous modes of self-torture that absorption into the essence of Bram or the Supreme Mind, the highest aim of every Hindoo saint, is held to be attainable.

These absurd austerities were remarked principally by the earlier travellers, and are said to have now become comparatively rare. Yet Mr Ward, in the

year 1806, when visiting the sacred Island of Saugor, saw several instances of this irrational devotion. He mentions also an account given by a European gentleman, who in the neighbourhood of Calcutta perceived something of human shape in a hole in the earth; but unable to believe that it was a man beat it till blood flowed, without being able to excite any movement beyond what might have been expected from a log of wood. These yogues, according to the same author, are not humble penitents, but proud ascetics. They are impressed with the belief, that the practice of these unnatural severities leads directly to the possession of divine and supernatural powers. They relate stories of impious men, nay of asoors or demons, who by such means have obtained an empire over nature, and even over the gods. There was it appears a band of giants, who by suspending themselves with their heads downwards over a slow fire for eight hundred years, and tearing the flesh from the bones, became so mighty, and caused such an alarm throughout the Hindoo heaven, that the battle in which Doorga vanquished them ranks among the most distinguished exploits of that terrible divinity. Another doctrine of this strange creed teaches, that the immortals, instead of viewing with satisfaction these acts of devotion, are struck with alarm, lest the performers should thereby arrive at a power dangerous to the stability of the celestial dominion. They do not therefore scruple to employ means for seducing them into such sensual indulgences as may cause them to relinquish these lofty pretensions.

Indian superstition assumes a still darker form, in prompting to religious suicide. Various are the



modes in which its blinded votaries consign themselves to death. One of the most common is exhibited at the procession of their idol cars, particularly at the festival of Juggernaut, when the precincts of the temple are crowded by vast multitudes of pilgrims from the remotest quarters, many of whom perish through fatigue and want of accommodation. The car is a lofty ornamented structure, in which are seated representations of the god, and of Bala Rama and Soobhadra, said to be his brother and sister. Large cables are attached to the vehicle, which the multitude eagerly grasp, and drag it along in triumph amid the shouts of surrounding thousands. This is the moment when, as

the wheels pass swiftly on, the self-devoted victim rushes forward, throws himself before them, and is crushed to death. He thus commands the admiration of the bystanders, and exults in the hope that he will thereby expiate all his sins, and secure a passage to the celestial abodes. The best representation which we have met with of such an exhibition, is that given by Sonnerat, from whom the preceding plate is copied. He presents it under the title of "the Festival of Teroton, or the Chariot;" not as specially applying to Juggernaut, but as a general picture of the scene exhibited there as well as at Seringham, Chillumbrum, and other celebrated pagodas.

The *suttee*, or sacrifice of widows on the funeral-pile of their husbands, is another well-known form of self-immolation. The practice does not appear to be exclusively religious, being connected with the tenderest of domestic ties, to which the secluded life of Indian females adds peculiar force. Their sacred books, however, decidedly attach a pious character to this unnatural sacrifice, and lavish promises of divine blessings on the performance of it. The widow is assured that she shall thus gain an abode in heaven during as many years as there are hairs on the human head, which are stated at thirty-five millions; that her husband, also, though sunk in the depths of hell, will be drawn up to the same happy region, and the sins of both entirely wiped away. The deluded female, who acts her part well, proceeds gaily to the spot in her finest attire, and decked in her most precious jewels and ornaments. On her arrival she calmly and courteously addresses her surrounding friends, and distributes among them various articles of value. Mandelslo, the traveller, when present only as a specta-

tor, had a bracelet thrown to him by the lady, which he kept ever after as a memorial of the scene. Often, however, when the dreadful moment approaches, she shrinks from the performance of her rash vow, gives way to cries and despair, and even refuses to ascend the pile; but the relations, considering the honour of their family as implicated, employ every species of urgency and even compulsion to induce her to complete the sacrifice. A scene peculiarly distressing occurs at the death of those opulent Hindoos who have carried polygamy to a great extent, when twelve, fifteen, or eighteen wives are known to have perished on the same pile. Ward mentions a case in which the fire was kept burning for three days; and during that time thirty-seven widows of one Bramin came in parties at different times and threw themselves into the flames. But perhaps the deepest of these tragedies ever acted in India was on occasion of the untimely death of Ajit, one of the most distinguished princes of Marwar, described by Colonel Tod in his second volume. Fifty-eight queens, "the curtain wives of affection," determined to offer themselves a sacrifice to Agni, exclaiming, "The world we will abandon, but never our lord!" They went "radiant as the sun, dispensing charity like falling rain," and threw themselves together on one mighty pile, which soon blazed to the skies, and, according to the Hindoo writers, "the faithful queens laved their bodies in the flames, as do the celestials in the lake of Manasawara." It is painful to peruse the expressions of applause and veneration in which their conduct is mentioned, and of the honour it is supposed to confer both on themselves and their deceased spouse. What renders this practice still more revolting, is the fact that the son

is made the instrument of his mother's death, the ceremonial requiring that his hand should apply the fire to the pile. We shall afterwards have occasion to mention the steps taken by the British government for suppressing this frightful superstition.

Another deplorable result of false religion in India was infanticide. It was to the Ganges chiefly that this barbarous sacrifice was performed. Not unfrequently, in cases of barrenness, a married pair bound themselves, if blessed with offspring, to doom their first-born to the divinity of the river. Having allowed the child to reach the age of three or four, they led him into the water beyond his depth, and left him to float down the stream. Perhaps some charitable hand might pick him up; but by his parents, at least, he was never more recognised. Other infants were placed in baskets and hung up on trees, where they were devoured by ants or birds of prey. The British authorities, however, have now strictly prohibited this criminal practice. The very frequent destruction of female infants among the Rajpoot tribes in the west of India is imputed by Ward to superstition; but Colonel Tod and Sir John Malcolm, who had much better information concerning this quarter of India, are convinced that it arises altogether from a foolish pride of birth, and the difficulty of suitably disposing of daughters in marriage. There are other modes by which individuals seek a voluntary death, as by plunging into the Ganges, particularly at the point of its junction with the Jumna, and by exposing themselves to be devoured by tigers on the Island of Saugor, or other spots near the mouth of that sacred river.

While over all India the same deities are worshipped, and the same books held sacred, there is

still found scope for the love of novelty and the propensity natural to mankind to separate into sects; each party esteeming themselves wiser and holier than the rest of the world. Mr Wilson even considers the successive books of the Vedas, the Puranas, and the Mahabarat, as constituting really new systems, since, amid the veneration expressed for the ancient doctrines and modes of worship, they introduce others essentially different. Zealots in general select some particular deity, of whom, in preference to all others, they profess themselves the votaries. Brama, as already observed, notwithstanding his supremacy in the Hindoo pantheon, does not stand at the head of any sect. Vishnu and Siva, the two powers next to him, divide in a great measure the worship of Indian devotees. The writer just named reckons that among forty-three leading denominations, twenty attach themselves to Vishnu, nine to Siva, four to his wife Doorga under the name of Saktas, while ten select inferior objects of adoration. The zealous adherents of the rival sects of Vishnuvites and Sivites, addicting themselves, according to Indian usage, to pilgrimage and mendicity, rove through the country in large bands, who have a great resemblance to sturdy beggars. These sectaries, exalting to an extraordinary degree the object of their own special homage, view one another with great antipathy, and often engage in violent contention. The symbols and creed of each are on such occasions held up by their opponents to odium and derision. When they meet at Hurdwar, or any other place of religious resort, the collision becomes formidable, and often ends in bloodshed.

But the most important schism is that between the disciples of Brama and the adherents of Boodh.

The latter have objects of worship, a creed, ceremonies, and institutions, entirely peculiar. They are even stigmatized as atheists, not yielding divine honours to any great First Cause, but solely to deified mortals. The priests of this order reside in spacious convents, where they devote themselves to celibacy and other observances so closely allied to the Romish Church, that the less enlightened missionaries of the latter faith have been induced to believe the two religions to be the same. The Boodhists erect temples much larger and more magnificent, and images of more gigantic dimensions, than the worshippers of Brama. But the most remarkable feature in this belief is its local situation, from which attempts have been made to deduce its origin and history. There was evidently a time when it prevailed extensively throughout India; and several great dynasties, particularly of Magadha, were Boodhist. But now almost every trace of it has been obliterated from Indostan, while it rules in all the neighbouring countries to the east and north, and has overspread nearly the whole extent of Eastern Asia. It is fully established in Thibet, Bootan, Birmah, Siam, and Ceylon: it is supposed to be the same with that of Fo, which is prevalent in China, and with that of Shamanism, which is diffused through the wide regions of Tartary. From these facts Mr Joinville and other writers deduce the inference, that this creed was once held by a large proportion of the people of Indostan; that a bloody war, imbittered by a furious persecution, was waged between them and the votaries of Brama; and that the latter were completely victorious, when the followers of Boodh were expelled and sought refuge in all the surrounding states, where

they succeeded in establishing their faith. We cannot but consider this opinion as somewhat conjectural; and it must appear singular that there should not remain any record of the wars and persecution which are here supposed to have taken place. However, the two religions cannot have had an origin remote from each other, since, as we learn from Dr Leyden, the Pali, or sacred language of the Boodhist Birmahs, is only a dialect of the Sanscrit.

But as Boodhism is no longer professed in India, we are not called upon to explain its doctrines. Its moral precepts appear fully as pure and efficacious as the Braminical. The doctrine of transmigration is still more deeply rooted in it, being particularly cherished by the followers of the Grand Lama or priest-sovereign of Thibet, whose soul, when it quits this earthly abode, is supposed instantly to animate the frame of an infant, and thereby to perpetuate his own identity.

The Jains, or Joinas, are a sect very numerous in Western Indostan. They combine in some measure the practice and doctrine of the two rival systems of Brama and Boodh. In accordance with the former, they have four castes, while their ceremonies, as well as their order of priesthood, are very similar; and they agree also with the Boodhists in various tenets, particularly in worshipping only deified heroes. They have very splendid temples, with images of more gigantic size than are now made by other Hindoos. One of these, called Gomut Iśwara, is eighteen times the height of a man; while a tradition is preserved of another five hundred times as large, consisting of pure gold, but which is now sunk in the bottom of the sea. It has been supposed that the Jains were originally pure Boodhists; but when

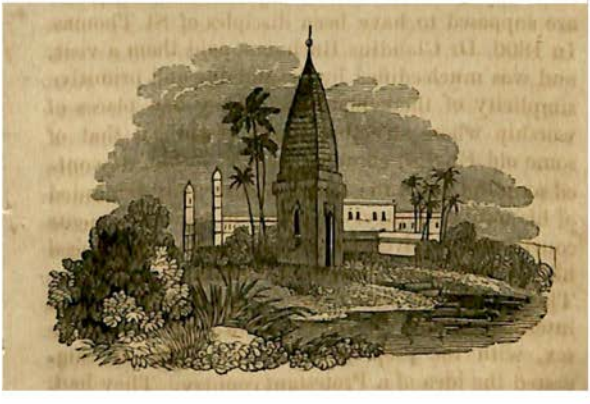
the Bramins attained the superiority, fear or interest induced them to admit into their system various modifications from that of the triumphant sect.

The Seiks have already been mentioned as having attempted to form an alliance between the two creeds of the Mohammedan and the Hindoo. These sectaries are equally remarkable for their political as their religious principles; and the furious persecutions to which they were once exposed have stamped upon them a peculiarly fierce and vindictive character. As a nation they are now masters of a great part of the territory bordering on the Indus, and form the only state in that part of Asia which is completely independent of the English, with whom they have never measured their strength.

An interesting fact is presented by the colonies of early Christians and Jews formed in the interior of Cochin and Travancore at the southern extremity of the coast of Malabar. The Christians are called Syriac from their using that language, and are supposed to have been disciples of St Thomas. In 1806, Dr Claudius Buchanan paid them a visit, and was much edified by the amiable and primitive simplicity of their manners. They had places of worship whose structure much resembled that of some old English churches, where, by the unwonted sound of bells, the visiter was strongly reminded of his native country. A bishop in white vestments courteously received Dr Buchanan, and introduced him to three presbyters, Jesu, Zecharias, and Urias. The people were poor; but the general diffusion of intelligence, and the liberty allowed to the female sex, with the propriety of their demeanour, suggested the idea of a Protestant country. They had, however, only a few copies of the Bible, and those in

manuscript. Mr Wredé says their number is computed to amount to 150,000; but Mr Baber, in his late evidence before parliament, estimates them at only 100,000, and adds that they are the best subjects their princes have.

The Jews are divided into two colonies, the white and the black, whose establishment appears to have taken place at different eras. The former report themselves to have arrived soon after the destruction of Jerusalem; while the latter, from their complexion and appearance, are supposed to have settled at a much earlier period. They had ancient Hebrew manuscripts written on goat's skin, one of which Dr Buchanan, with some difficulty, obtained permission to carry away. It was deposited in the university of Cambridge, where it was shown to the present writer by the late Dr Clarke, who stated that on collation there appeared little difference between it and our authorized text.



CHAPTER VII.

Hindoo Manners and Literature.

National Character—Government—Village System—Castes—Bramins—Cshatryas—Vaisyas—Sudras—Mixed—Loss of Caste—Pariahs—Various Estimates of Hindoo Character—General Result—Decoity—Domestic Life—Females of India—Modes of spending Money—Literature—The Vedas—The Puranas—Mahabarat and Ramayana—Amorous Poems—Metaphysical Works—Fable or Apologue—Modern Writings—Study of English Literature—Detached Hindoo Tribes—Rajpootana—Her Nobles—Bards—Princesses—Infanticide—The Jharejahs—Nayrs of Calicut—Bheels—Tudas—Mohammedan Population—Parsees—Jits or Jauts.

THERE are certain features in national character, which not only discriminate one people from another in distant parts of the globe, but also the same people from their immediate neighbours, that may be generally traced by an attentive observer, though many circumstances render the delineation of them extremely difficult and uncertain. The distinguishing peculiarities are blended with others that are common to mankind in general. The task, besides, requires that nice observation which is possessed by very few writers, and which, in all cases, is easily biassed by passion and prejudice. Hence the character of the Hindoo has been drawn in very opposite colours, according to the suggestion of those party impressions, which in this case are perhaps stronger than in

regard to any other people. Before attempting to balance and estimate such conflicting testimonies, it may be advantageous to bring into view some leading distinctions which influence the national character. The outlines of their religious system have already been traced, and we have now to consider their political arrangements, and the peculiar *castes* and classes into which society is divided.

The Hindoos appear to have been always ruled by despotic governments, and for many ages their subjection to a foreign race, wholly differing in religion, manners, aspect, and language, has been peculiarly humiliating. Even the native princes, who have retained or recovered a certain degree of power, exercise a prerogative uncontrolled by any established rights or privileges. The only check has been one of a very irregular kind, arising from the turbulent sway of the inferior chiefs, whose influence over their immediate vassals is frequently exerted to support their own authority, which is not less absolute. Still, amid this corrupting despotism, traces are found of a system purely republican, existing in the villages which, over all India, have an interior constitution entirely distinct from the general rule to which the country at large is subjected.

A village, or rather township, is formed by a community occupying a certain extent of land, the boundaries of which are carefully fixed, though often disputed. Sometimes it is cultivated by the united labour of the inhabitants; but more usually each ploughs his separate field, leaving always a large portion of common. Assignments of land are also made to various functionaries, who are charged with important public services. The principal per-

sonage is the potail, or head-man, who acts as judge and magistrate, and treats respecting the village affairs with other communities, or with the national rulers. Other duties are intrusted to the registrar, the watchman, the distributor of water, the astrologer, smith, carpenter, potter, barber, washerman, and silversmith. Whatever change the supreme authority in the kingdom may undergo, into whatever hands it may pass by inheritance, usurpation, or force of arms, whether its rulers be native or foreign, the peculiar constitution of each township remains unaltered; no revolutions affect it, no conquest changes it. Even when an overwhelming invasion or desolating inroad has compelled its members to leave their native seats, and to spend long years in exile, upon the first dawn of tranquillity they hasten back, and resume without resistance or dispute their ancient inheritance. These numerous republics, maintained in the vicinity of a powerful despotism, have doubtless contributed largely to the prosperity which India has enjoyed. Yet they are too much scattered to exercise any permanent check on the absolute power of the princes and chieftains, who dispute among themselves the mastery of that extensive region.

The next grand feature, and one now peculiar to India, consists in the division of the people into *castes;* an institution which has long effected a separation among certain orders of society as complete as if they had belonged to different species, and which, though its power, owing to an increasing intercourse with the English, is beginning to be shaken, still continues immense. The four castes proceed in a descending scale,—the Bramins, the Csha-

tryas, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras. It is religion, or rather a slavish superstition, by which these extraordinary distinctions are sanctioned, and at the same time reconciled and cemented so as to preserve from disorganization a community in which certain interests are kept in immutable subordination. The sacred books represent the Bramins as having issued in the moment of creation from the mouth of Brama, the Cshatryas from his arm, the Vaisyas from his thigh, while the Sudras drew their ignoble origin from his foot. Accordingly, while the first enjoy a rank almost equal to divinity, the latter are denied the rights and the place of human beings.

It must appear a remarkable circumstance, and is perhaps owing to the long subjection of India to Moslem dominion, that while the priestly or Braminical order are held in such unbounded veneration, no tax is levied, no lands assigned by government for their support, no provision even is made for the supply of their most urgent necessities. Considerable donations have indeed been granted to the brotherhood by charitable individuals, yet they still profess to be mendicants subsisting solely on alms. The youthful Bramin, as soon as he is invested with the poita or cotton thread, which distinguishes his order, begins to ask alms of his parents and of the surrounding company. Yet this situation, which would appear to sink them beneath every other class, is perhaps the chief cause which has led to their exorbitant acquisitions. Depending chiefly on the opinion and favour of the multitude, they are sometimes tempted to employ the most unwarrantable arts for securing and extending their influence. "A Bramin," said one of their number to

M. Dubois, "is an ant's nest of lies and impostures." They cherish in the people all those debasing superstitions to which the mind of man is prone; while they exalt, in an extravagant degree, the dignity of their own place and office, as well as the merit of those who confer donations upon them. The sacred books are filled with relations of the miraculous powers of Bramins, exerted in drying up the sea, vomiting fire on their enemies, and trampling on the most powerful deities. Krishna is introduced as humbly presenting a party of them with water to wash their feet; and a story is diligently recited concerning one of their number who gave the most opprobrious reception to Brama, Vishnu, and Siva, when they came together to wait upon him. The laws not only pronounce the murder of a Bramin to be of deeper atrocity than that of any other individual, but punish as crimes the most trivial slights offered to that sacred class. If a Sudra presume to sit down on the carpet of a Bramin, the part thus sacrilegiously deposited is either burnt with a hot iron or entirely cut off. If he spit upon such a hallowed person, he is deprived of his lips. If he listen to reproaches against him, melted lead is poured into his ears. If he pluck him by the beard, the hands committing this outrage are forfeited. But to treat Bramins with honour, and confer gifts upon them, are actions of distinguished merit, atoning for almost every sin. In the great festivals, when the opulent occasionally make a display of their wealth, the leading object is to collect a great number of Bramins and send them away loaded with presents. At entertainments given by kings, they amount to many thousands. Mr

Ward mentions one bestowed during Mr Hastings' administration by the dewan at Moorshedabad, where there were said to be present no fewer than 600,000 of that order. Large bequests of land, cows, and other precious effects, are made to them by the pious. So far, indeed, do they rank above every other class, that the daughter of the poorest Bramin is taught to consider a king as no equal match for her; and the peishwa, when he was at the head of the Mahratta confederacy, and held the most commanding station of any Indian sovereign, was long excluded from eating at table with any Bramin of high caste.

The Cshatryas, or military class, are second in dignity, and bear even somewhat of a sacred character. During the era of Hindoo independence, not only generals, but even kings were chosen from this body; though, since the subjection of India by foreign powers, they have suffered a very severe depression. They have even been induced to imitate the costume and manners of Mussulmans, by whom, under the Mogul empire, all commands and dignities were engrossed; and notwithstanding the limited nature of the promotion which they can obtain in the British service, they enter it in considerable numbers. The only powerful body of this class now remaining are those who, under the name of Rajpoots, occupy the wild tracts of country bordering on the Western Desert, whom their valour and the strength of their natural fastnesses have secured from complete subjugation even by the Mogul. These, however, form a peculiar tribe, whose habits and character will be noticed hereafter at greater length.

The Vaisyas rank third, and belong to the industrious part of the community; but their functions are not very distinctly or consistently explained. By some they are said to be traders, by others shepherds and cultivators. Their proper employment seems to be the carrying on of any business requiring the investment of capital, but of which the manual labour is performed by inferiors.

The Sudras stand lowest in the scale of castes, and suffer a degree of degradation greater than befalls any other class of persons not actually bondmen. They are not only doomed to severe and unremitting toil, but as far as possible are debarred from improving their circumstances. The attempt of a Sudra to accumulate property is declared to be unlawful, and to give pain to Bramins. Their spiritual prospects are equally clouded. Scarcely can they hope to reach heaven, or even by the process of transmigration to attain any higher condition on earth. They are not permitted to perform a single religious ceremony, and are exposed to a severe anathema for merely opening a page of the Vedas, the most ancient and revered depository of divine knowledge. Their only hope of emerging from contempt is by profound homage, lavish gifts, and menial services to the sacred caste. By such actions the Sudra may raise himself above his fellows, though he cannot, either in this or a future life, make any approach to the dignity of the superior classes.

The original and appropriate occupation of this caste is agricultural labour; yet certain grades or subdivisions are also found, who exercise the various trades and handicrafts necessary in an improved and luxurious society. These, comprehended under

the general appellation of the *burren sunker*, are reported to have sprung from the irregular mixture of the higher orders, and form, according to Mr Colebrooke, a species of outcasts; but, in general estimation, they hold nearly the same rank with the Sudras. Great estrangement prevails among these classes, many of whom will not visit, or hold the slightest intercourse with each other. Their employments are invariably transmitted by hereditary descent from father to son; but though they thereby acquire great mechanical skill, they never attempt to vary their method, or make any improvement on the models derived from their ancestors.

Hard as is the lot of the Sudra, it is enviable in comparison with that of him who, born to the most exalted rank, forfeits it through misconduct, accident, or the most trivial inadvertence. Tasting food or holding communication with persons of inferior caste, dealing in certain commodities, eating certain kinds of food, are the chief among those deadly sins, which subject their perpetrator to as dreadful a doom as can befall a mortal. To swallow, however involuntarily, a morsel of beef, converts at once the most revered Bramin into a despised and miserable outcast. He forfeits his patrimony, and is excluded from all the courtesy and charities of life. "The loss of caste," says an intelligent writer in the Friend of India, "is the loss of the whole world. Henceforth the offender can see no more the face of father, mother, brother or sister, or even of his wife or children. They will fly from his presence as from one infected by some deadly distemper." So insupportable is this fate accounted, that a great proportion of those who incur it

either seek refuge in suicide, or, flying into remote exile and becoming wanderers over the earth, hide themselves from the view of those who had beheld them in the honours of purity.

In the south, and particularly in Malabar, is found a race named Pariahs, upon whom is entailed by birth this state of utter degradation. They are supposed by M. Dubois to constitute a fifth of the population of these countries, and are employed only in offices which the meanest labourer belonging to any caste would disdain; as scavengers, and in the rudest descriptions of country labour. They usually inhabit a suburb or district without the walls of the cities, which, from accumulated filth and the carrion hung up to dry in the sun, presents a disgusting spectacle. The nayr, or Malabar noble, accounts himself polluted by the touch, or even the close approach of these unfortunate fellow-beings; nay, in such a case, he is legally authorized to kill them on the spot. The Pariahs therefore find it necessary to prevent such a meeting; and if they happen to enter a path which may render it inevitable, they must announce their presence by uttering certain sounds, that the great man may be warned of the impure object with whose contact he is threatened. Bands of them often take their station at a little distance from the highway, "howling like hungry dogs," and imploring the passenger to deposite some coarse viands which they may afterwards approach and take. They are rendered the more odious to the purer classes by their filth, their eating indiscriminately every description of food, and by other excesses usually shunned by Hindoos of respectability.

In estimating Hindoo society, as modified by these institutions, we may remark one circumstance which seems at first view to give it some superiority over that of Europe. Here rank is constituted by the possession of birth, riches, and power. A character for wisdom and virtue, indeed, renders a man respectable in his station; but, unless it also procures him wealth or title, will not raise him to a higher. In India, on the other hand, rank is constituted by having at least the reputation of learning and piety. Wealth and power, even in the greatest degree, though they make a man conspicuous in his caste, do not elevate him above it. Yet, though the principle seems just, it is applied in a manner so absurd and indiscriminating as to degrade instead of raising the mass of society. The distinction is not formed by any reference to the actual possession of these qualities, but is confined by birth and an imaginary celestial origin to a privileged class, who, in order to preserve their own superiority, studiously exclude all others from any participation in their advantages. The Bramin, instead of striving to diffuse knowledge among his countrymen, interdicts all their attempts to attain it; instead of pointing the way to heaven, he shuts it against them. His priestly ministrations are limited to the performance of a round of unmeaning ceremonies, and do not aim at conveying to the people any instruction either religious or moral. The high consideration, accordingly, which he enjoys in virtue of his supposed sanctity and wisdom, only makes him seek to monopolize these qualities, and to debar his fellow-citizens from even endeavouring to acquire them.

Having thus surveyed the leading circumstances

which influence the habits and character of the Hindoo, we may be prepared to estimate the accuracy of the judgments pronounced respecting them by different observers. These have been various and contradictory to a greater degree, perhaps, than in regard to any other nation. Strong biasses have often arisen from good motives and feelings. At first the gentle and polished address of the Hindoo, his simple habits of life, his literary monuments, rendered venerable by mystery and antiquity, suggested the idea of a refined and amiable people. At the same time his wrongs and long oppression beneath a foreign yoke made him the object of deep interest and sympathy. But a closer inspection dispelled this prepossession, and went far to substitute one directly opposite. The administrators of civil and criminal justice became gradually familiar with many bad features in the character of the Hindoo; and dark scenes of violence and iniquity were from time to time disclosed, that ill accorded with the meek and passive spirit usually ascribed to him. The Christian missionaries, again, inspired with a laudable zeal in their high function, felt perhaps an unnecessary anxiety to exalt it still higher, by representing him as more immoral than other pagans. These writers found an able auxiliary in Mr Mill, whose extensive researches justly attach the greatest importance to his opinion, but who, in detecting the errors of his predecessors, has unquestionably leant towards an opposite extreme. It is somewhat surprising to find Mr Hastings foremost in panegyrizing the natives of India; but that celebrated statesman, though compelled perhaps by the urgency of circumstances to particular acts of

oppression, always showed a disposition to befriend the body of the people, and had gained a great share of their attachment. He describes them as "gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown to them than prompted to vengeance by wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion as any people on the face of the earth. They are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority. Their temperance is demonstrated in the simplicity of their food, and their total abstinence from spirituous liquors and other substances of intoxication." According to Heber, "they are a lively, intelligent, and interesting people. The national temper is decidedly good, gentle, and kind; they are sober, industrious, affectionate to their relations; generally speaking, faithful to their masters; easily attached by kindness and confidence; and, in the case of the military oath, are of admirable obedience, courage, and fidelity, in life and death." This excellent prelate maintained always the most friendly intercourse with the people; and the amiable tone of his feelings and manners would tend to draw forth whatever was best in their disposition; yet he admits that their morality does not extend beyond the reach of positive obligations, and where these do not exist they are oppressive, cruel, and treacherous. For these bad qualities he considers their system of religion, and their exclusion from the moral lessons which even their sacred books inculcate, as mainly answerable. Mr Mill, on the contrary, endeavours to show that all the virtues ascribed to the Hindoo consist in mere outward seeming, and are often in direct opposition to his real conduct and propensities.

Mr Ward sums up the character of that people as "destitute of generosity, patriotism, and gratitude; as disobedient to parents, grossly impure, false, litigious, cruel, treacherous, covetous, ostentatious, destitute of compassion." The most recent statement is that made to the Board of Control by Rammohun Roy, who is entitled to be heard on the subject of his own countrymen. According to him, "the peasants or villagers who reside away from large towns, and head stations, and courts of law, are as innocent, temperate, and moral in their conduct, as the people of any country whatsoever." He admits, however, that the inhabitants of the cities and large towns, those holding much intercourse with foreigners and with persons employed in legal proceedings, are as inferior in point of character, and "very often made tools of in the nefarious work of perjury and forgery." His opinion, that the difference is owing to the strong impressions of religion prevalent in the former class, but which are effaced among the latter, does not coincide with that of Bishop Heber, and can only be regarded as a theory.

Between statements thus conflicting it must be difficult to form an impartial estimate. It may be observed, that the Hindoos are universally represented as displaying a polished, courteous, and engaging address, such as in Europe distinguishes only persons of the first rank. On a closer view, however, this appears to be little connected with warmth of heart or the feelings of real friendship; little even with genuine refinement of character. It is rather the result of the entire subordination of the different ranks to each other; for every man in India has superiors whose favour it deeply concerns

him to gain—before whom he must suppress his sallies of temper and passion, and exert all his powers of pleasing. Every circle is thus as it were a court; a sphere of life excellent as a school of manners, but rarely the abode of sincere and genuine affection. The Hindoo, like the courtier, appears imbued with a thorough selfishness, viewing the mass of mankind only as instruments to promote his own interest and that of his immediate connexions. Within the domestic walls, however, he manifests strong impressions both of duty and affection. For the chief to whose service he has devoted himself, and who has gained his attachment, he appears bound not only by strong ties of honour, but by an enthusiastic fidelity, to which he adheres often in the utmost extremity. The preceding history has exhibited repeated examples among the greater chiefs, of immovable faithfulness in adversity, chequered, it must be owned, with some instances of the basest treachery and desertion.

Such an entire absence of a regard for truth, as to make it impossible to rely on a word which he utters, is a charge made by all who have had any intercourse with the Hindoo, especially in judicial proceedings. Notwithstanding the force of his religious feelings and prejudices, no oath, however adapted to his creed, is sufficient to bind him. Complaints of the universal prevalence of perjury are reiterated from so many quarters,—by Sir William Jones, Sir James Mackintosh, and other enlightened and philosophic judges,—that it is impossible to doubt of their being well founded. Witnesses brought forward in a good cause endeavour to support it by such palpable falsehoods, that the tribunals are often obliged to acquit

the guilty, whom they cannot convict but by means of this impure evidence.

One of the circumstances most inconsistent with our idea of the harmless and gentle character of the Hindoo, is the extensive prevalence of *decoity* or gang-robbery; a system of plunder deeply rooted in the habits of this people. The bands of decoits resemble on a smaller scale the numerous troops of Mahratta and Pindaree freebooters. They are not, like European robbers, bold desperadoes, who set at defiance the order and laws of society. On the contrary, they form a part of that order; they are sanctioned by those laws which, in the ancient codes, apportion the spoil between the marauders and the state. Even under the British government, which denounces against them rigorous penalties, they calculate on their dexterity for eluding detection, and live in the heart of the villages where their practices are well known, but which scarcely render them the less respected. These persons do not usually commit depredations on their immediate neighbours, or within the limits of their own village territory. They issue forth in organized bands under regular chiefs, to attack the inhabitants of some distant quarter. In their progress they press into the troop all who can render any service, threatening instant death in case of refusal. The timid natives, on their approach, are struck with dismay, and seldom attempt resistance, but either fly or endeavour to avert the violence of the assailants by unconditional submission. In their eagerness to extort hidden treasure, they have recourse to modes of torture, more inhuman, if possible, than those already described as practised by the Pindarees. In

particular they are accustomed to apply lighted straw and torches to the body, or, having twisted round it hemp covered with clarified butter, set it on fire, so as to cause the most exquisite suffering. At their departure they utter dreadful menaces against such as may take any steps to discover or bring them to justice. On one occasion, after several persons, who had denounced two robbers, had been murdered, a decoit chief entered a village with an earthen pot in his hand, and called out:—"If any body tells that the four informers were taken off last night, I will tie this pot round his neck and drown him; I will cut him and his wives and children to pieces. I am Moolea; you know me, and you know that I will be as good as my word." The terror inspired by such threats, the difficulty of bringing evidence before English courts, and the facility of retreat into the deep jungles by which many of the provinces are bordered, enabled them long to baffle the efforts of government. They appeared even to increase, threatening to annihilate the security of property, and convert the country into an extensive desert. The administration, however, roused to the most vigorous exertion, have in later times effected a very material reduction in the number of those banditti. About 1814, indeed, they were almost entirely put down; though they have since to a certain extent revived.

Domestic life, a most important branch of the social condition of any people, is peculiarly interesting as it applies to the Hindoo, whose regards are in a great measure confined within his family circle. The jealous character of oriental despotism views with aversion all public assemblages; it checks even that mingled intercourse among mankind, which we

call general society. With the exception of great men, whose vanity is gratified by public display, the Hindoo forms few connexions beyond those of his own household. Marriage, the basis of family ties, is considered not only desirable and agreeable, but absolutely indispensable. A youth of twenty-five and a girl of fifteen unmarried, are regarded as not less particular than unfortunate. Mr Ward mentions a party of old maids, who, to escape from this reproachful condition, united themselves in marriage to an old Bramin as his friends were carrying him to die on the banks of the Ganges. Yet the felicity enjoyed in the matrimonial state corresponds very little with the anxiety thus felt to enter it. Hindoo laws and institutions doom the fair portion of the species to the most depressed and pitiable lot. Every avenue by which an idea could possibly enter their minds is diligently closed. It is unlawful for them to open a book; they must not join in the public service of the temples; and any man, even their husbands, would consider himself disgraced by entering into conversation with them. The degradation of the wife is rendered deeper by the despotic power which usage grants to the mother-in-law, who regards her son's spouse as little better than a slave. Hence a rupture often very speedily ensues; the bride, unable to endure her bondage, flies back to her parents, and refuses to return unless the lady of whose tyranny she complains makes the first advances towards a reconciliation.

The females of India dress with simplicity, and prefer long flowing robes, which give them an elegant and classical appearance. On extraordinary occasions, however, they delight to adorn themselves

profusely with trinkets and jewels. They live in general a retired and recluse life in the interior of their houses, and it is considered a breach of decorum for a man even to look at them. On the death of their husbands, they either sacrifice themselves on his funeral-pile, or, unless they choose to forfeit altogether their caste and social relations, remain ever after in a state of widowhood. Both Grant and Ward intimate their belief, that this exterior decorum occasionally veils much criminal intrigue. That irregularities, magnified by scandal, do sometimes occur in the great and luxurious cities, is exceedingly probable; but, as it is rare that the practice of a whole people is at direct variance with their profession, we incline to believe, with the Abbé Dubois, that fidelity to conjugal vows usually marks the deportment of the Hindoo female. The conduct of the sex in one respect, indeed, presents a painful contrast; for religion, which ought to be the chief guardian of purity, is so wholly perverted, as to

sanction, on their part, words and actions the most depraved.

The Hindoos are active and industrious, eagerly bent on the accumulation of wealth; and though wages are low, and the labouring class extremely poor, yet capital, partly perhaps from its insecurity, yields very high profits. Hence many of those who have been fortunate in their mercantile or money-lending speculations, attain very great wealth. Scarcely any part of this is expended in the daily enjoyments and accommodations of life, which in almost every rank are simple and cheap in the extreme. They live in low mud-houses, eating on the bare ground, having neither tables nor furniture; a practice which is followed by the richest and highest as well as the lowest. His dwelling is a shed, the walls are naked, and the mud-floor, for the sake of coolness, is every morning sprinkled with a mixture of water and cow-dung. He distributes food among the indigent, but never entertains his friends at dinner. It is only on some few and rare occasions that the rich give a superb fête, to which hundreds, and even thousands, are invited. Even then the expenditure in food and drink is inconsiderable, being averaged by Mr Ward at eightpence a-head. But the cost is immense in fireworks and processions, and in profuse donations of money, garments, and other gifts, to those present, especially to Bramins. It is impossible, therefore, to celebrate what is called a respectable marriage at a smaller cost than £500 or £600, and it has been known to exceed £12,000. The savings of years are thus dissipated in one day of extravagance; and a family, which was in comfortable circumstances, may be

plunged into poverty, and even debt, by the marriage of one of its members.

The literature of the Hindoos, an important element in their national character, long excited a deep interest. It was reported to be extensive and valuable, though locked up in a sacred language which had long ceased to be spoken or written. The priests retained the key with a suspicious vigilance, interdicting the entrance to the great body of their own countrymen, and much more to foreigners. So carefully was the secret kept, as to give rise to an opinion, that it would for ever defy the curiosity and research of Europeans. An enthusiasm, however, was kindled by Sir William Jones for exploring the hidden treasures of oriental antiquity; and the exertions of that great man, of Mr Colebrooke, Mr Wilkins, and others, have induced the natives to lay open the stores of Sanscrit literature, to furnish copies, or partially to translate the most remarkable works composed in it. Specimens have thus been afforded, sufficient to enable the European scholar to appreciate in some degree those celebrated remains of ancient learning.

The most remarkable feature is the authoritative character with which by far the greater part of their books is invested. The Vedas, the holiest and most antique, are not believed to be merely inspired, but to have been a portion of the substance of Brama himself detached in the moment of creation. When the various portions of the universe, the gods and men, were issuing from different parts of his body, the Vedas, fairly and fully written, dropped from his four mouths. They are said, however, to have met with sundry disasters, and even to

have once fallen into the bottom of the sea, whence they were miraculously fished up, and placed in the hands of Vyasa and other learned men, who professed to methodize and arrange, while it is more than probable that they really composed them.

The Vedas are four in number, the Rich, the Yajush, the Saman, and the Atharvana, with certain minute subdivisions which it is needless to describe. They are arranged into numerous chapters, sections, and verses, and are chiefly composed in a poetical form. The largest and most sacred part consists of the Sanhita, or collection of Mantras, being prayers or addresses to various divinities. In every Mantra are distinguished the Rishi, or saint who is supposed to utter it, and the god to whom it is addressed. These compositions consist of hymns in his praise, petitions for particular blessings, which they are supposed to operate as a charm in procuring, and even in invocations for the destruction of enemies. Next follow the Braminas, in which are found moral precepts, religious maxims, and theological arguments. These last are chiefly comprised in a series of tracts called Upanishads, which treat the subject often in the form of dialogue. The Vedas are voluminous, that called Rich containing a thousand Mantras, and upwards of ten thousand stanzas. They are illustrated by numerous comments, of which the Shastras or Sastras are held almost equally sacred, and are, in their turn, loaded with expositions; so that a very large amount of literary production is founded upon the Vedas. The perusal of these writings is the most meritorious exercise in which a Hindoo can engage; but the Bramins, according to their narrow notions, confine

that privilege strictly to their own order, and brand as impious every attempt by one of an inferior class to open these pages. Even their own studies are not always conducted in the most enlightened or intelligent manner. Beginning to read at a very early age, and having the idea that merit is attached to the mere repetition of the words, they often disregard the import altogether. So fully is this admitted, that it is thought as advantageous to repeat the words backward as forward, and devotees are said to value themselves on reciting them transposed in various fantastic forms, which exclude altogether any attention to their meaning. Learned men, at Benares, Jyenagur, and other holy cities, have even been at pains to prepare copies adapted to these absurd modes of reading.

The Puranas, another extensive portion of Hindoo literature, are, like the Vedas, composed in verse, and bear a character still more decidedly poetical. They are confessedly more modern, and by no means held in equal veneration. Mr Colebrooke, indeed, supposes they may have been meant to constitute a fifth Veda; but the Bramins show the inferior estimation in which they are held by allowing even the humble class of Sudras to read them. The Puranas, in fact, acknowledge the supreme excellence of the Vedas, and enforce the reverence due to all the deities there celebrated and addressed; yet they introduce us to an entirely new circle of celestial characters. In the former, Brama and the creation effected by him are the leading themes. Theism is decidedly maintained, and expressed not unfrequently in very elevated language, though debased by mean and childish de-

tails; but in the Puranas deified heroes are the leading actors, and though, as incarnations of Vishnu, they might be held connected with the original objects of worship, they are in fact mere human beings, partaking largely the frailties of mortals. These works, moreover, include accounts of the nature and attributes of the various divinities, a description of the numerous heavens and hells, forms of prayer and sacrifice, as well as maxims and precepts of various kinds. They form, in short, in the estimation of a Hindoo, an almost complete repository of human and divine learning.

Below the Puranas in age as well as in dignity rank the two great epic narratives of the Mahabarat and Ramayana. They have also a very different object. Heaven is the sphere of the Vedas and the Puranas; but these two celebrated poems mainly relate to beings of this earth, of whom some have never been exalted to the honours of deity. Rama, Krishna, Arjoona, Yadhisthur, Seeta, Droupadee, are undoubtedly kings, heroes, and ladies, who really flourished during a memorable period of Indian history, comprised in the cali yug, or the age which is now revolving. The narrative, however, is illumined by only a very faint gleam of historical light. The human actors are blended with others of a singular description; birds and beasts possessed of human and even divine attributes; armies of monkeys; giants which vanquish and devour heroes, and are again obliged to render them up; and various other natures equally incongruous and equally fabulous. These works, though scarcely considered as inspired, bear a sacred character. The composition too, while it indulges in

a bolder license than that of the Vedas and Puranas, contains richer imagery, and is warmed by no inconsiderable share of poetical fire.

Poems having love for their theme are likewise numerous; and, though they do not lay claim to inspiration, are full of supernatural incidents, and animated by that mythological spirit which pervades all Hindoo compositions. The drama of Sacontala or the Fatal Ring is the best known, and has excited considerable admiration in Europe. It does not, however, appear to us to breathe much of the genuine feeling of nature or passion. No situation, no crisis however striking, calls forth any natural burst of emotion. The following declaration of love by the Prince Dushmanta, is a mere string of fanciful conceits:—

"Oh, God of love! how can thy darts be so keen, since they are pointed with flowers? Yes, I discover the reason of their keenness;—they are tipped with the flames which the wrath of Hara kindled, and which blaze at this moment like the Barava fire under the waves: how else couldst thou, who wast consumed even to ashes, be still the inflamer of our souls? By you and by the moon, though each of you seems worthy of confidence, we lovers are cruelly deceived. They who love as I do, ascribe flowery shafts to thee, and cool beams to the moon, with equal impropriety; for the moon sheds fire on them with her dewy rays, and thou pointest with sharp diamonds those arrows which seem to be barbed with blossoms. Yet this god, who bears a fish on his banners, and who wounds me to the soul, will give me real delight if he destroy me with the aid of my beloved, whose eyes are large and beautiful as those of a roe."

We may say the same of the following effusion communicated by Mr Ward:—

"This beautiful nymph is nothing less than an archer; her eyebrows form the bow, the two extremities of her eyes the bowstring, and her eyes the arrow. Whom does she seek to wound? My deer-formed heart."

On the other hand, some of the descriptive passages, especially those which relate to celestial objects, possess a lofty, solemn, and pleasing character. In another part of Sacontala, the prince, descending from an excursion to heaven, thus interrogates his guide:—

"Say, Matali, what mountain is that which, like an evening cloud, pours exhilarating streams, and forms a golden zone between the western and eastern seas?

"*Mat.* That, O king! is the mountain of Gandharvas, named Hemacuta; the universe contains not a more excellent place for the successful devotion of the pious. There Casyapa, father of the immortals, ruler of men, son of Marichi, who sprang from the self-existent, resides with his consort Aditi, blessed in holy retirement.

"*Dushmanta.* May I approach the divine pair, and do them complete homage?

"*Mat.* By all means.——

"We now enter the sanctuary of him who rules the world, and the groves which are watered by streams from celestial sources.

"*Dushm.* This asylum is more delightful than paradise itself: I could fancy myself bathing in a pool of nectar.

"*Mat.* Behold the retreat of the truly pious!

"*Dushm.* I see with equal amazement both the pious and their awful retreat. It becomes indeed pure spirits to feed on balmy air in a forest blooming with trees of life; to bathe in rills dyed yellow with the golden dust of the lotus, and to fortify their virtue in the mysterious bath; to meditate in caves, the pebbles of which are unblemished gems: in this grove alone is attained the summit of true piety."

Metaphysics, or the philosophy of mind, forms in India a very favourite object of study. It is connected with the lofty and abstruse tenets of their religion, and with that abstraction from active life which its precepts inculcate, and which an absolute government imposes on the great body of its people. A greater independence of mind has been displayed upon this subject than any other upon which Hindoo thought has been exercised. Some writers, particularly of the Jain sect, have, in open defiance of the Vedas, composed works of which the votaries of the orthodox faith strictly interdict the perusal. Others again have indulged only in such a moderate measure of free inquiry, that the Bramins, in consideration of their great merit, allow their disciples to read them; warning them carefully to reject whatever is not consistent with the Vedas. Of these demi-orthodox systems the most celebrated is the Sanchya of Kapila,—a sage so venerable, that he has even been considered as an incarnation of Vishnu. It may be regarded, therefore, as the system of philosophy which ranks highest in Indian estimation; and the learned world is much indebted to Mr Colebrooke for the full and perspicuous

analysis which he has given of its contents. We can only attempt to convey to our readers a very general idea of them.

The author begins by explaining the advantages to be derived from his doctrines, which he magnifies in a manner truly extraordinary. He represents that they not only illuminate and enlarge the mind of man, but deliver it from all evil, and secure eternal beatitude. He proceeds to consider the sources of human knowledge, which he divides, not injudiciously, into the three heads of perception—inference—affirmation, or testimony, human and divine. Like the Greek philosophers, he makes nature to consist of the four elements of earth, water, air, and fire; but he adds, as a fifth, a diffused ethereal fluid, imagined to be the vehicle of sound. He maintains, in the most decided manner, the existence of mind as entirely distinct and infinitely superior to body, fancifully comparing matter to a female dancer, exhibiting herself to the soul as a spectator; but considers the perfection of intellect as attainable only by an entire abstraction from material objects. In contemplating, however, the remarkable union existing between mind and body, he has been unable to form a conception of it without the intervention of some connecting link. This he imagines himself to have found in a certain mysterious substance, which he denominates "the subtile person." He describes it as an animated atom, hovering above the brain like the flame of a candle over its wick. The subtile person is superior to, and independent of the material frame, on the dissolution of which it proceeds to animate other bodies. Yet the soul, till entirely disengaged even

from this substance, is not exempted from evil, decay, and death. The gods themselves, being in a great measure composed of the subtile person, have a lengthened, indeed, yet a limited term of existence. "Many thousands of Indras and of other gods have passed away, overcome by time,—for time is hard to overcome." There are, however, means by which the soul may soar at once above every thing mortal and transitory; but his explanations on this subject show that he had adopted the fantastic chimeras of the yogues and fakirs. Along with profound meditation he recommends constrained and painful attitudes, suppression of breath, and the mechanical repetition of certain mysterious words and syllables. By these processes, it is said, man may not only secure absorption into the divine essence at last, but may in this life attain supernatural power, and the means of gratifying every wish, however extravagant; he may sink into the earth as in water, may touch the moon with the tip of his finger, and hold dominion over all things animate and inanimate. From this brief analysis it must be obvious, that this system, though acute, and in some particulars sound, is decidedly marked by those imperfections which attach to the early state of the science, as well as with that extravagance which pervades every thing within the range of Hindoo mythology.

Perhaps the most valuable portion of Indian literature consists in the fables or apologues, where the supposed adventures and discourses of animals are narrated with a view to the entertainment and instruction of mankind. The fables of Æsop, and their paraphrase by Phædrus, were the only specimens known in Europe till the introduction of the

celebrated collection bearing the name of Pilpay or Bidpai. These were always known to have an oriental origin, and had been supposed to come from Arabia or Persia, till they were discovered in a more copious form in a Sanscrit work, called the Hitopadesa. A considerable part was translated by Sir William Jones, and the original was afterwards published by Mr Colebrooke. Mr Wilson has recently examined and analyzed an earlier and more extensive collection called the Pancha Tantra, which generally coincides with the Hitopadesa. He observes, that amid the almost total absence of all historical records, these fables throw some light on the ancient condition of the country. The description, on one occasion, of the court of the king of the crows, appears exactly to represent that of the native princes during the period of their greatness. But the chief value of these compositions consists in the maxims of conduct and rules of life; for it must be confessed that, in Sanscrit, rats and crows often express themselves more judiciously than either gods or men. Our readers may probably be pleased with a few specimens:—

"Riches are not easily acquired, and when acquired are with extreme care preserved; when death comes they are gone; be not therefore anxious for wealth."

"The poisonous tree of this world bears two fruits of exquisite savour, poetry sweet as nectar, and the society of the good."

"As a stone is raised with great labour up a mountain, but is thrown down in an instant, thus are our virtues acquired with difficulty, and our vices with ease."

"Let an ambassador be the king's eye, in surveying his own and every other region, and in discerning what is practicable and what is impracticable."

"The vicious, notwithstanding the sweetness of their words, and the honey on their tongues, have a whole storehouse of poison in the heart."

"There is no union between the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the wicked; but the thoughts, words, and actions of the good, all agree."

"The truly great are calm in danger, merciful in prosperity, eloquent in the assembly, courageous in war, and anxious for fame."

"Danger should be feared when distant, and braved when present."

"Every one looking downwards becomes impressed with ideas of his own greatness; but looking upwards, feels his own littleness."

"As a mound of earth raised by the ants, or the sand in the hour-glass, so religion, learning, and riches, increase only by degrees."

"Let not the accidental faults of a real friend interrupt your friendship; the body, though it may contain sores, cannot be abandoned."

"The allotted days and nights of human life, like a current down the sides of a mountain, pass away not to return."

"Union even with the body is a broken one; need we wonder then that no union on earth is indissoluble."

Satirical.—"A young wife is more dear to an old man than life itself; but a young wife never loves an old man; she merely waits upon him, and considers him a nauseous draught."

"Kings, women, and climbing-plants, love those who are near them."

"Riches are every thing: a rich man is always surrounded with friends, feared as powerful, and honoured as learned. The poor, though possessing friends, power, and learning, are despised."

"A servant if he be silent is called a fool; if eloquent, a madman or a prattler; at hand, an artful fellow; at a distance, a bad attendant; if patient, a coward; if he cannot endure bad treatment, an arrant rascal: the duty of a servant is extremely hard, and not performable even by saints."

All the works which give lustre to Hindoo literature are of very high antiquity, most of them probably written at the distance of upwards of 2000 years. The more modern productions do not even aim at the same lofty objects, and consist chiefly of dictionaries or works on grammar and law. There are still, however, many schools where Sanscrit is taught. In Benares alone Mr Ward enumerates upwards of eighty; but each was attended by only from ten to thirty students. The teacher, instead of exacting fees, affords to his pupils board as well as instruction gratuitously. He is compensated by the respect paid to his character; by donations for the support of his establishment; and by invitations to feasts, where he shares the presents, which are most lavishly bestowed. The seminaries where such pupils are received, usually built by alms, are mere clay-huts, which, though containing eight or ten apartments, may be erected for seven or eight pounds.

But a new feature has been introduced into the intellectual character of the Hindoos by the culti-

vation of English literature. The minds of the more opulent and intelligent natives resident at Calcutta have been improved by intercourse with enlightened Europeans, and particularly the Serampore missionaries, who have deeply studied their language and antiquities. This disposition, to extend their researches beyond the limits of native books, has been strengthened by their conviction of the superiority possessed by the Europeans in arms, arts, and policy, and by the acknowledged equity and mildness of their government. Not only have many of our standard classics been translated, and literary societies formed after our model, but several natives have composed works of merit in the English language, both in prose and verse; among whom may be particularly mentioned Rammohun Roy, a distinguished individual, who, taking the lead in this pursuit, has recently sought to extend his knowledge by visiting this country. The prevalence of this disposition appears very strikingly in the recent establishment by Hindoos, for their own use, of an English newspaper, entitled the Reformer, which, in the second number, contains the following remarkable passage:—

"Whatever may be the opinion of those who advocate the continuance of things as they are, there will come a time when prejudice, however deep and ramified its roots are reckoned to be, will droop, and eventually wither away before the benign radiance of liberty and truth. Our ideas do not now range on the surface of things. We have commenced probing, and will probe on, till we discover that which will make us feel that we are men in common with others. We cast off prejudice and all its

concomitants, as objects abhorrent to the principles which are calculated to ennoble us before the world. Assisted by the light of reason, we have the gladdening prospect before us of soon coming to the standard of civilisation, which has established the prosperity of the European nations. Let us then, my countrymen, pursue with diligence and care the track laid open by these glorious nations. Let us follow the ensign of liberty and truth, and, emulating their wisdom and their virtues, be, in our turn, the guiding needle to those who are blinded by the gloom of ignorance and superstition."

This desire to improve themselves by an acquaintance with European literature has, it is true, been hitherto confined chiefly to Calcutta; but that city, being now considered as the capital of India, is likely soon to give the tone to the rest of the empire. Indeed the light which has been elevated there already begins to radiate to the great towns in the upper provinces. At the same time it cannot be concealed, that it has encountered in some quarters a violent opposition. Such studies have been represented as at variance with the fundamental principles of Hindoo learning and religion. The very language is denounced as utterly unfit to be known by a Bramin; who, if he should unguardedly utter, while officiating on any solemn occasion, one word of this unholy tongue, would instantly render the whole ceremony profane and useless. Still we have little doubt that, under the continuance of the mild government of Britain, the enlightened views inspired by intercourse with her citizens will be gradually disseminated, and that the influence of a purer religion will raise the inhabitants of this vast

empire to a higher rank in the scale of society than they have ever yet attained.

Notwithstanding the similarity which stamps the inhabitants of Indostan as one people, there are tribes distinguished by peculiarities so striking that some notice of them is necessary to complete the view of her social condition. Among these the most remarkable are the Rajpoots, the only large class of natives who, amid so many revolutions, have preserved an almost complete independence, and thus present a picture of what that country must have been long before it was subjected to a foreign yoke.

Rajpootana, Rajasthan, or Rajwarra, is a mountainous territory of considerable extent, situated at the south-western extremity of the magnificent plain which is watered by the Ganges and Jumna. It is chiefly marked by the long range of the Aravulli, which, beginning at the frontier of Guzerat, extends north-north-east to the borders of Delhi. On the western side it descends into the district of Marwar, whose arid surface is gradually confounded with the great Desert. On the east it slopes down into a prolonged table-plain, forming the district round the city of Ajmere, and the territories of Mewar, Kishenghur, and Jyepore; while still farther in the same direction, and on a lower level, are the states of Boondee and Kotah, passing into the Plain of Malwa. Aboo, the loftiest pinnacle of this chain, looks down from its eastern side upon the champaign country of Mewar, with its capital Oodipoor, long the most flourishing of these states, and whose princes still hold the highest rank of any in India.

Although this territory bordered so closely on the

centre of the Mogul dominion, the warlike character of its inhabitants secured it from conquest. Akbar, indeed, overthrew their armies and reduced their capital, Chittore; but they afterwards rallied their strength, and their princes in general rendered to the emperor nothing more than homage and feudal service. Sometimes they commanded his armies, of which their cavalry in many instances composed the main strength; retaining, meanwhile, the exercise of their internal government almost uncontrolled. When Aurengzebe, by his persecuting zeal, had driven them into rebellion, he sustained several reverses which darkened the latter period of his reign. After his death, the Mogul power, sinking into rapid decline, scarcely made any farther attempt to preserve dominion over Rajpootana. But the rise of the fierce and lawless Mahrattas exposed them to greater calamities than they had yet endured. Sindia, Holkar, and Ameer Khan, aided by internal dissension, ravaged their fields, sacked their cities, and caused the death of some of their noblest chiefs. They sought relief in British alliance; but this connexion having been dissolved by the political system of Marquis Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, they were again exposed to the inroads of their predatory neighbours. At the breaking out of the Pindaree war, Rajpootana presented a scene of great desolation. After the triumphant issue of that contest, Britain extended her full protection to these states, which have consequently begun to revive, and regain their former prosperity.

This region has a social and political character very different from that which we denominate Oriental, and bears more analogy to the state of Europe

during the feudal ages. Its petty princes carry the distinction of birth to an extravagant height, and boast a loftier origin than can be claimed by the proudest families of the West. The revolutions which swept away successive races of kings and nobles from the great Plain of Indostan, never effected any permanent change among the brave inhabitants of this mountain-territory. Its rulers trace their genealogy to the earliest sovereigns and deified heroes, who, according to national belief, reigned once on earth and now in heaven. The chiefs of Marwar exult in a line of male ancestors for 1300 years, during part of which period they held sway in Kanouge, and formed perhaps the most powerful dynasty that was ever known in native India. The sovereign is said to have been able to bring 600,000 troops into the field; and on one occasion proposed a marriage for his daughter, at which the humblest offices of the kitchen and the hall were to be performed by kings. The blood of the Rajpoots is therefore considered the highest and purest in the East. To form a matrimonial alliance in the family of one of these petty chieftains was a subject of pride to the Great Mogul; who, although he ruled over almost the whole of India, was scarcely esteemed a fitting match for the haughty dames of Rajpootana.

The political system of these states is by no means distinguished by that implicit submission to the will of one ruler, which forms the general basis of Eastern government. There is a class of *rahtores* or nobles, who claim almost as high a descent as the ranas or sovereigns, and some of them intermarry with the royal family. They hold lands, some by original right, others by grant from the crown; but all

with a great measure of independence. They are divided into three orders, one with estates above 50,000 rupees, who rank as the hereditary advisers of the crown, but reside chiefly, like the feudal barons of Europe, in their strong castles, and appear at court only by special invitation upon solemn occasions. The two inferior classes, one having from 50,000 to 5000 rupees, the other below 5000, are required to give constant attendance and service. The monarch is invested with the entire legislative power, unchecked by any parliament or assembly of his subjects. His authority is consequently much less limited than was the royal prerogative in feudal times, and his revenues are ampler, being derived from hereditary demesnes, mines, and customs on merchandise. He is thus enabled to indulge a degree of pomp beyond what would seem compatible with his narrow territories. His palaces equal those erected by the greatest monarchs. Particular admiration is attracted by the splendour of Oodipoor, situated in one of the most picturesque and romantic valleys of India, and having its long range of towers reflected from the bosom of a beautiful lake. On the border of a similar expanse an almost magic scene is presented by the island-palace of Jugmundur, composed entirely of marble, of which an engraving is given on the opposite page. A great part of the floors are inlaid with mosaic, the effect of which is heightened by light passing through variously-tinted glass. That of Umeer, erected by one of the rajahs of Jyepore, is stated by Heber to equal Windsor. The great column of victory at Chittore, called the Kheerut Khumb, rising to the height of 122 feet, and covered all over with the most minute and ela-

borate sculpture, in which all the objects of Hindoo mythology are represented, is considered by Colonel Tod to be the finest specimen of art in India. The great chiefs also reside in stately and splendid castles; though the deadly feuds incident to this state of society render Rajpootana a constant scene of turbulence, and almost of anarchy. Yet the character of these leaders presents some noble features. They have given repeated proofs of gratitude, honour, and fidelity, seldom met with among the effeminate inhabitants of the plain, or the roaming and predatory bands of Mahrattas.

As a representative of this extraordinary race, Colonel Tod has exhibited Nahur Khan, "the tiger lord," the fierce, brave, and faithful adherent of Jesswint Singh, chief of Marwar, a commander who, both in serving and opposing Aurengzebe, showed himself one of the greatest that India can boast. Nahur led the van in all Jesswint's battles, and acquired the epithet of "faithful of the faith-

ful," by his promptitude to submit to the loss of life, on an occasion connected with the most atrocious superstition. Jesswint, through the pressure of deep remorse, had become subject to a temporary alienation of mind, imputed by the magicians to the operation of an evil spirit, which being exorcised, was said to declare that the chief could only be restored by some one suffering death as a voluntary sacrifice. Nahur Khan instantly offered himself as the victim. The magicians, however, saved him, by pretending that the spirit had descended into a vessel of water, which being swallowed by Nahur, the reason of his illustrious master resumed its seat. At another time, Jesswint, in a fit of rage, ordered his faithful chief to be thrown into the den of a tiger, and there to contend, unarmed, for his life. But Nahur presented to the monster so firm an aspect, that it turned away; when the brave commander observed, that honour forbade him to attack an adversary who would not look him in the face. On another occasion, when employed against Soortan, also one of the most gallant of these chieftains, with a chosen band, he surprised him in the dead of night, stabbed a solitary sentinel, and having bound the warrior with his own turban to his pallet, sounded the alarm, that the surrounding clansmen might see their master carried off without daring to attempt his rescue.

Jesswint conveyed his captive to the Mogul court, to introduce him to Aurengzebe. Soortan was accordingly instructed in regard to those prostrations required of all who were ushered into the presence of the great ruler of India. But he said "his life was in the king's hands, his honour in his own; he had never bowed the head to mortal man,

and never would." Jesswint was considerably embarrassed, having given him a solemn pledge of honourable treatment, which he could now scarcely expect to have the power of redeeming. The master of the ceremonies, however, endeavoured to obviate the difficulty, by preparing for the chief's entrance into the presence-hall a species of wicket raised a little from the ground, and so small, that it was thought he could not pass through it except in such a position as might be interpreted into an expression of homage. Soortan, however, advancing his feet first, effected his entry, so that the head appeared last, and in a position the reverse of that which he was desired to assume. Aurengzebe, who had no mean vanity, was so pleased with his noble bearing, and so amused with his ingenious disrespect, that he offered him a gift of lands to attach him to his service: but Soortan desired only to be restored to the wild hills that surrounded his castle of Aboo; and his wish was gratified.

These features, though bold, are somewhat rude; yet there are others in which the Rajpoots appear under a more polished aspect than the barons of the feudal ages. There exists, in Colonel Tod's apprehension, no period of their history in which the chief could not have written his name, and even celebrated his own achievements in verse. The Charuns, or bards, sometimes are venerated as beings more than human. The donations presented to them are immense: on one occasion six "lords of verse" received £10,000 each. A caravan placed under their protection may pass in safety through countries that are the theatre of the most bloody war and devastation. If an attack is threatened,

they inflict on themselves a wound, and, showing the blood, menace a dreadful vengeance on the adversary who dares to persevere. A similar expedient is often employed at weddings or festivals, to extort extravagant gifts.

The Rajpoots do not subject the female sex to that thraldom and degradation which is the reproach of the Hindoo husband. The ladies of rank are, indeed, somewhat secluded; but more from state than jealousy: they are well educated, and often possess a large share of information. Colonel Tod, who had the opportunity, though separated by a curtain, of conversing with several of the *bhyes* or princesses, found them extremely intelligent, and well acquainted both with their own interests and those of their country. Wrongs sustained by females of rank have been among the chief causes of their frequent wars. One custom is peculiarly stamped with the refined and romantic gallantry of the middle ages. A young princess, who fears an impending danger, sends to any youth whom she esteems the present of the *rahhi* or bracelet, with some simple ornaments fastened to it. He becomes then her "bracelet-bound brother," whose pride it is, at the peril of life, to defend a maiden whom probably he never saw. Yet the very dignity attached to the sex involves them in singular calamities. Scarcely have their eyes opened to the light, when a large proportion of the female children are doomed to death by their unnatural parents. This dreadful crime has been imputed to superstition; but Colonel Tod traces it solely to the difficulty, and, above all, the expense of marrying young ladies of this high rank. To remain single is considered worse

than death; but the spouse of a Rajpoot must be of pure and high blood on both sides, and must not bear to him the most distant relationship. Whether a match in these and all other respects suitable will be procured, becomes a matter of extreme uncertainty. Even if it is found, there remains another consideration calculated to excite serious uneasiness. Marriage is the occasion on which every Indian makes his greatest display of pomp, wealth, and generosity. Not only must all the ceremonies be costly and splendid, but Bramins, bards, and others, attend, who expect to be loaded with magnificent gifts. The prince feels that his reputation depends on the manner in which he is celebrated by these august personages, who assure him, that while his treasury is emptied the world is filled with his praise. A single nuptial feast is sufficient to involve a flourishing exchequer in bankruptcy. One prince, indeed, made an attempt to check this profusion by a law, enacting, that the expenditure on such an occasion should not exceed one year's entire income of the state; but the vainglory of the nobles could not be confined within these limits. A still more tragical fate, at every period of life, impends over the females of Rajwarra. In the deadly feuds of these turbulent tribes, if the wives and daughters of a vanquished chief fall into the hands of the victor, they become, according to a law similar to that of ancient Greece, concubines or slaves to the enemy of their house. This catastrophe in these proud families is deemed intolerable; and when the last extremity arrives, death by their own hands, or those of their nearest kindred, must save them from it. The repetition of such events

causes their life to be held cheap whenever interest or honour appears to require its sacrifice. While resident in Guzerat, General Walker, with his characteristic benevolence, endeavoured to persuade the chiefs of that country to renounce the practice of infanticide, and enjoyed at one time a prospect of success, which, however, proved ultimately fallacious.

The Jharejas, a Rajpoot tribe, who hold sway in the territory of Cutch, are, by an intricate operation of the system of caste, placed in such a situation that they cannot by any means find a single individual with whom a daughter of theirs can be suitably matched. In this dilemma they have not hesitated to adopt the horrid expedient of putting to death all their female children; so that, as Mrs Elwood mentions, in a population of 12,000 there were not in 1818 more than thirty women alive. The infants are either drowned in milk, or poisoned by opium applied to the breast of the mother. The English have made vigorous attempts to abolish this inhuman practice. By a condition of the treaty with Cutch in 1819, full protection was guaranteed to the Jharejah chiefs on their consenting to discontinue this criminal custom. Since that time it has not been perpetrated openly; but the interior of palaces and castles affords ample means of concealment; and the very small number of girls in families makes it too clear that it still prevails extensively. The Jharejahs, with this exception, are described by Mr Burnes as a fine people; and he did not even observe that their excessive use of opium had much debilitated either their minds or bodies.

India contains other detached races marked by

striking peculiarities; but none of them so important as to influence the general aspect of society, and, therefore, not requiring minute description. The nayrs of Calicut have been repeatedly brought under the reader's notice on account of their valour, their aristocratic pride, and inhuman contempt of the Pariahs or outcasts. A more unusual distinction is found in the custom, by which ladies of quality may without reproach select as many lovers as they incline, provided their birth be suitable; in consequence of which the legitimacy of all the members of a noble family becomes more than problematical. In order, therefore, to prevent the succession from passing entirely to another blood, heritage both in royal and noble houses descends, not to the son, but to the sister's son.

The Bheels or Bhills are a predatory tribe, who stand at the very opposite extreme of Indian society. They occupy the rugged cliffs and defiles in the mountain-border of Malwa, Rajpootana, and Guzerat. Though plunder be their "being's end and aim," they do not pursue it in large bands, or carry their devastation into distant countries, like the Mahrattas and Pindarees. They descend from the hills by night, singly or in small troops, carry off with astonishing dexterity whatever comes within their reach, and return by morning to their usual retreats. They wear no clothes except a piece of cloth round the waist; and, being armed only with bow and quiver, never make an open attack, but shoot from behind rocks and bushes. As they eat beef, and indulge in intoxicating liquors, they have been supposed to be outcasts from the great Hindoo community, and to have taken refuge in

these fastnesses; but Sir John Malcolm assigns reasons for believing that they have ancient and original institutions of their own, and at the same time hold the general creed of the country. They claim for the whole tribe a descent from the great deity Siva or Mahadeo. They pay blind and devoted obedience to their dhunnee or chief. A young woman who was examined before an English court respecting a murder with which her father and husband stood charged, confessed that they had committed it; but maintained that it was without blame on their part, as the dhunnee had commanded it. This justification not proving satisfactory to the judges, she repeatedly exclaimed, "They had the dhunnee's order!" and showed equal astonishment and indignation on being informed that this would not entitle them to a full acquittal.

Another native race, altogether insignificant in point of number, are yet extremely interesting, from the light which their manners throw on the earliest state of Hindoo society. The southern boundary of Mysore is for a considerable extent composed of the range of mountains called the Nhilgerries, the loftiest of any in Southern India, and rising at some points to upwards of 8000 feet. These elevated tracts were not explored by the British till 1819, when the climate, even under the burning skies of the tropic, was found to be almost as temperate as that of England. Its cool and refreshing breezes, with the rich and romantic scenery of hills, lakes, waterfalls, pastoral streams and valleys, render this country a delightful retreat for the European invalid. Government, accordingly, have formed there a sanitary station, the particulars of

which, and of its climate, are given by Professor Jameson in the succeeding volume.* In the highest valleys of the Nhilgerries are found a clan, called Tudas, who do not exceed 600 in number, but are very remarkable, as the only tribe yet discovered who are ignorant of the mythology, language, learning, and manners, so universally diffused over India. They are strangers to the divinities who people the Hindoo pantheon; even the cow is not esteemed by them as sacred, though they attach certain religious ideas to the dairy, which yields to them one of the most valuable means of subsistence and commerce. Their temples are dark hovels, in which a little shining stone is the only object of worship; but from these the Bramin is driven by them with anger and suspicion. Their language has some resemblance to the Tamul and the Malayalma, which are spoken in the plains below; but not a tincture of that copious infusion of Sanscrit which prevails in these and the other Hindoo dialects. There is, therefore, some probability that they are indeed the remnant of the aborigines of Southern India; exhibiting what their ancestors were before they received those institutions which have stamped upon the Hindoo race so peculiar a character.

The Tudas are at once discovered to be a different people from the inhabitants of the plains below. They are tall, athletic, with a bold bearing, and long black hair; their countenance, distinguished by a Roman nose and a large full speaking eye, is sometimes marked by deep gravity, sometimes animated by a lively and mirthful expression. The

* Vol. iii. p. 281.

women display the same features, with a feminine cast, and have their long black tresses floating over the neck and shoulders. Though modest, they display a frankness and self-possession, to which the sex in the low country are strangers; but their appearance is injured by want of cleanliness and an ungraceful costume. They all live in patriarchal simplicity, raising no grain, nor rearing any domestic animal except the buffalo, whose milk yields the ghee or clarified butter, which forms their only exportable produce. They dwell by families in small *morrts* or clusters of huts, migrating from one to another according to the convenience of pasturage. They seem strangers to war, having no weapons of attack or defence; yet their demeanour is hardy and fearless, betokening a sense of superiority to the neighbouring tribes, compared to whom they dignify themselves with the exclusive title of *men*. They are strictly honest, and, without fastening their doors day or night, live in perfect safety. They are reproached with habitual indolence; but the report that they put their infants to death, seems yet too slight to fix so deep a stain on their character.

It seems necessary here to introduce some account of the Asiatic races not Hindoo, who have settled in India. These are chiefly Mohammedans, the descendants of the early conquerors, reinforced by successive hordes of Uzbecks and Patans, attracted thither by the hopes of rising to power and fortune. The fall of the Mogul empire nearly annihilated their importance. It converted them into military adventurers, who either swelled the predatory bands, or found employment in the native courts, recommended by their boldness and courage. Mr Prinsep

mentions a class called the Punnee Patans, who carried on a singular species of life-insurance. A great man, surrounded by enemies and in danger of assassination, obtained from them a contract to kill any one who might be chargeable with violence towards him; and the knowledge of this engagement, which they were known to fulfil with scrupulous punctuality, formed a material safeguard to the person assured. The Mussulman character, reserved and simple in private life, but proud and ostentatious in public, has remained nearly unaltered, and its delineation belongs rather to the history of countries where they are still the ruling race. Since the time of Aurengzebe their bigotry has greatly abated. An interesting description of their domestic habits, generally involved in much guarded obscurity, has recently been given by an English lady, whom fortune had united to a Mussulman of distinction, named Meer Hassan Ali. The picture greatly resembles the pleasing one drawn by Mr Tully's relative of the ladies of Tripoli; and both represent the inmates of the Moslem zenana in a somewhat favourable light. Though buried in complete seclusion, they are described as mild, cheerful, content with their lot, and even possessing some measure of information.

In consequence of the recent successes of the British arms, the Mohammedans have been dislodged from the Mahratta courts, where they had found shelter, and their predatory bands have been dissolved. Their religion, however, still prevails in the vassal states of Hydrabad and Oude, as well as in the independent one of Sinde.

Another foreign race of considerable importance is that of the Parsees or Persians, the ancient wor-

shippers of fire, long since driven from their native country by the persecuting sword of the Arabs. The fury of that invasion is too clearly demonstrated by the fact, that there remains in their original seats only a small and poor remnant of this once powerful people. On the contrary the refugees in India are numerous and opulent. They take the lead in the commercial transactions of Bombay, Surat, and other north-western ports; indeed they are the proprietors of almost all the houses in the former, obtaining often very high rents from the English residents. Their general conduct is quiet, orderly, and respectable; though their usual retired habits are combined with that love of occasional pomp and show, which prevails so generally among the inhabitants of the East.

The Jits, or Jauts, are a numerous people, occupying the western provinces which border on the Indus. They appear to have emigrated from the great plains beyond the Oxus, and retain still the warlike and pastoral habits of Scythia. We have seen them become formidable by their valour to the great conquerors, as well as to the Mogul rulers of Indostan. They were originally divided into cantons, under a republican form of government; but they have since owned the supremacy of the Rajpoot states, particularly that of Bikaneer. Tod considers the peasantry of north-western India, as well as the sectarian race of the Seiks, to be chiefly composed of this tribe.

CHAPTER VIII.

British Government of India.

Early Management of the Company—Interlopers—Courten's Association—United Joint-stock—Rival Company in 1698—Union—Constitution of the United Company—Early Settlements—Acquisitions in the Carnatic—Conquest of Bengal—Financial Distress—Plans for its Remedy—Administration of Hastings—Charges against him—Trial—India Bill by Mr Fox—Another by Mr Pitt—Board of Control—Arrangements with Subsidiary States—The Carnatic—The Nizam—Oude, &c.—Population of India—The Army—Sepoys—Revenue—Mode of levying Land-rent—Judicial Arrangements.

In the preceding history, we have traced the steps by which the Company arrived at their present vast dominion in India. It remains that we take a view of their constitution, commercial and political, and the manner in which they have administered their affairs. This subject, which has given rise to much controversy, is obviously too extensive to be treated here in detail. Referring those to whom it may be an object of particular interest to more voluminous works, we shall endeavour to present an outline satisfactory to the general reader.

The Company for some time were little more than an associated body of private adventurers; the Governor and Directors merely receiving the funds contributed by each individual, managing them according to his suggestion, and accounting to him for

the proceeds. But in 1612, by representing the complexity and inconvenience arising out of this arrangement, they prevailed upon the merchants to unite into what is termed a joint-stock company, where the whole sum subscribed was placed under the control of the Directors, and a dividend conformable to the general results of the trade made among the proprietors. It has been alleged, however, that when zeal was no longer stimulated by individual interest, the commercial transactions were not conducted with the same economy, and yielded less advantageous returns. The Company afterwards involved their affairs in the confusion of different interests. An addition to their capital being from time to time required, was procured by a new joint-stock; and sums were subscribed by fresh bodies of adventurers, which were to be separately managed. Thus, by the year 1650, four distinct subscriptions were formed. Meantime the Directors were harassed, not only by the competition of numerous interlopers, but by demands from respectable merchants to be admitted to a share in this lucrative traffic. The principles of commercial, as well as of political, liberty widely pervaded the nation; the Levant and Muscovy trades had been thrown open with the happiest effects; and it was urged that equal benefits would accrue from opening to the nation in general that of India. In 1635, a new association, headed by Sir William Courten, obtained permission from the king, who was allowed a share in the adventure, to embark in an independent trade with that country. The concern, however, was not well conducted, and could not make head against the hostility of the Company, who advanced multiplied charges against it. At

length the privilege was withdrawn; but the Directors agreed to incorporate the capital with their own, forming what was termed the United Joint-stock. Its proprietors, however, in 1655, were empowered by Cromwell to resume a separate commerce. Jealousies were roused to the highest pitch; and, after several warm discussions, it was agreed that the exclusive system should be fully re-established, and that the different stocks, which had led to such confusion, should be consolidated. From this time the transactions were carried on, if not in a more profitable, at least in a more systematic manner.

During a course of years from this date, though the Company laboured under embarrassment, the general prosperity of the country enabled them to extend their commerce. Their outward investment in goods and bullion, which in 1622 did not exceed £65,000, rose in 1673 to £228,000. This apparent success produced, however, the usual effect of exciting emulation among the rest of the community. In 1683 the plan of a subscription for a new joint-stock was taken into consideration by the king and council, though without obtaining their sanction. After the Revolution the prevailing spirit of liberty rendered the zeal of private adventurers still more active. The Company, however, had still influence enough, in 1693, to procure from the crown a charter for twenty-one years, which authorized them to extend their capital from £756,000, to £1,500,000. But the House of Commons the same year passed a vote directly annulling this grant. That assembly was the more confirmed in their hostility, when, having instituted an inquiry, they discovered that large sums had been paid as bribes to the Duke of Leeds and

other public officers. In 1698, a bill was brought into Parliament for the establishment of another company. The principles of commercial legislation, however, being yet in their infancy, this measure was not founded upon any sound or liberal basis. It in no degree threw open the trade, but merely transferred the monopoly from one body to another: and a direct injustice was committed by allowing the new association to commence their operations immediately; their predecessors being by their charter entitled to a notice of three years before their exclusive trade should cease. Finally,—and this was the real source of their too ample privileges,—the new company agreed to advance to government two millions sterling at eight per cent.; a most preposterous arrangement, whereby they deprived themselves of the capital with which their trade ought to have been carried on. The consequence was, that in their first voyage they were only able to send out an investment of £178,000, while their rivals, for the same season, sent one of £525,000. But the old company redoubled their efforts, conducted their affairs with increased prudence and caution, and by their great experience proved themselves superior to their new competitors. The most violent dissensions broke out in India between the rival associations; each representing the other in the blackest colours to the native powers, who were much disposed to listen to the statements of both. Hence arose an apprehension that the very existence of British trade in India was in peril. It seemed necessary, by some means or other, to terminate this unprofitable conflict; and, after suitable negotiation, the companies agreed to a compromise, and to act thenceforth under the

title of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies. Godolphin, reckoned the greatest statesman of the age, was appointed arbiter, and on the basis of his decision was formed a constitution, which, with slight alterations, has subsisted to the present day. There was nominated a court of proprietors, comprising all who held stock to the amount of £500. These were to meet four times a-year, or oftener if necessary, to make regulations for the management of the Company's affairs, and determine the amount of dividend. They elected a committee of twenty-four, called afterwards the Court of Directors, who, with a chairman, conducted all the details of business and traffic. This was a government purely democratic; for, though Mr Mill compares the chairman and directors to the king and lords, they had in fact no legislative power nor independent functions whatever; they were the mere servants of the body of proprietors. Yet the fact is, that, instead of suffering any of the inconveniencies of democratic rule, it has proved almost a complete oligarchy, centring, as might be expected, in the Court of Directors.

In 1730 a strenuous effort was made, by petitions from the chief mercantile towns, to have the Indian trade thrown open to the nation, allowing the Company to retain the forts and other establishments, and to receive an allowance on the imports and exports. But the latter had influence sufficient to defeat this application, and to procure a farther extension of their charter for thirty-three years.

During this interval the circumstances of the Company underwent an entire and most important change. At first they attempted nothing more

than to maintain factories for the accommodation of their agents, and places of deposite for their goods. Sir Thomas Roe, their ambassador to the Mogul court, had strenuously advised them to proceed no farther, and to avoid fortified stations, which, besides involving large expenses, were likely to excite jealousy in the native princes, and to occasion ruinous wars. Yet the marauding character of the Indian chiefs renders it doubtful how far such a plan could have been pursued with safety. The Company therefore, as formerly observed, erected several forts: they had even, in 1689, conceived the design of establishing dominion in India, and of making revenue one of their sources of emolument. Yet down to 1744 they had acquired only a few small districts around Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The war which then broke out in the Carnatic had the effect of converting them into a military power, and of rendering them, after various struggles, virtual sovereigns of that part of the country. Much more memorable results arose out of the war in Bengal and the victories of Clive, when they obtained the dewannee, including the real occupancy of that province, with Bahar and Orissa, forming a territory more extensive, and at that time supposed more opulent, than the whole of Great Britain. This event created an extraordinary sensation, and inspired both themselves and the nation with an extravagant idea of their wealth; their stock rose to 263, and dividends were declared at 12½ per cent. These treasures, however, soon became an object of jealousy and desire both to the people and the government. The question was mooted, whether any body of subjects could exercise an authority in-

dependent of the supreme power; nor were ministers slow to pronounce that the king must be the real and only sovereign of every territory conquered by the British arms. This alarming claim was for the time evaded by an agreement made in 1767, that the Company should annually pay £400,000 into the Exchequer, and reduce their dividend to ten per cent.; upon which they were allowed for two years to retain their Indian acquisitions. In 1769 a similar arrangement extended their power for five years longer. But at this epoch a disastrous crisis had arrived in their affairs. That wealth, supposed so immense, which had excited their own exultation and the envy of the public, proved in a great measure illusory. The revenues of the conquered provinces, though very considerable, were found inadequate to defray the expenses of war, the rapacity of their servants, and the exorbitant dividends which the proprietors thought themselves entitled to demand. Their affairs were now in a state of extreme embarrassment, which they in vain endeavoured to mitigate by loans from the Bank, first of £400,000 and then of £200,000. They were then under the necessity of stating to government their absolute want of an accommodation to the amount of a million and a half sterling. This application placed them entirely at the mercy of the minister; who determined indeed, after some hesitation, to grant the request, but under conditions which might promote both his own influence and that of the crown. His terms were, that the Exchequer should lend £1,400,000 at four per cent., and forego the stipulated annual payment of £400,000 till that debt were discharged. In return the Company

were not to divide above six per cent. till that object should be accomplished; and on their extrication from difficulties were to pay to the revenue three-fourths of their surplus receipts at home. The latter point was loudly denounced by the Company as exorbitant and oppressive. In fact, however, it proved very nugatory, since the relief from embarrassment, and the possession of a surplus, proved to be visions that glittered before their eyes, but were never realized. The minister followed up this measure by another still more offensive, regulating their constitution both at home and in India. The qualification for a proprietor was raised from £500 to £1000, and only a fourth part instead of the whole of the directors was to be annually elected. Bengal and the territories annexed to it were to be ruled by a governor-general with £25,000 a-year, and four councillors with £8000 each; while law was to be administered by a chief-justice with £8000 a-year, and three judges with £6000. These last were to be appointed by the crown, while the governor and council were to be named in the first instance by Parliament; after which the patronage of these offices was to revert to the directors,—subject, however, to the approbation of government. The Company strenuously remonstrated against this measure as an infringement of their chartered privileges; but as they had to contend with the ministry, and were unpopular with the nation, all opposition on their part was fruitless.

Meantime they were actively endeavouring to repress the disorders which began to appear in their Indian dominions. It was with this object chiefly that Clive went out for the second time, though cir-

cumstances soon afterwards led also to a vast extension of their territorial property. The two primary objects of his mission were, to put an end to the exaction of presents by British officers, who had enriched themselves at the expense of the native powers, and to suppress the internal trade, in a great measure monopolized by them, which had been the source of accumulated evils. The first of these measures he enforced with vigour, obliging the officers not to accept a single present, and attaching severe penalties to the violation of his order. The irregular trade, however, he is said to have partially connived at, with the view of favouring some personal friends, till the repeated commands of the Company left him no choice but to perform his duty.

Affairs remained nevertheless in extreme disorder; and the revenue, an object of such paramount interest, had in no degree answered the expectations of the Company. Among the remedies adopted was that of sending out three persons of distinction and experience, Mr Vansittart, Colonel Ford, and Mr Scrafton, under the title of Supervisors, to inquire into the causes of these evils, and suggest a mode of counteracting them. A singular fate befell these eminent personages; for neither they nor the vessel in which they sailed were ever heard of. The measure was not resumed; and on the resolution being formed to appoint a governor-general, Parliament nominated Mr Hastings. The choice was entirely approved by the proprietors. That gentleman, in a succession of subordinate situations, had displayed splendid talents, and acquired great experience in Indian affairs. When recently acting as second in command at Madras, he had materially

improved that settlement; and the happiest results were accordingly expected from his elevation to the supreme government.

The various transactions by which the administration of Mr Hastings was marked excited in Britain intense interest, and gave rise, after his return, to some of the most memorable proceedings in the records of Parliament. This ardent feeling has long since subsided; the events to which it related not having permanently affected either the extent of the British power or its relation to the native states. A very rapid outline of them will now satisfy the general reader.

The first measure, and perhaps that of the greatest importance, was dictated by the government at home. Hitherto, though our countrymen were rulers of Bengal, the judicial and financial details had been conducted by native officers. These in their present dependent situation could no longer command the necessary respect and submission. The English residents too often set the example of insubordination, and the country was reduced almost to a state of anarchy. It was therefore determined to place these branches under British agency, and to bring them as much as possible under the control of the government at Calcutta. This change was extremely momentous, involving complicated arrangements, of which it was not always possible to foresee the practical consequences. It proved, accordingly, that the new system contained many imperfections; yet the attachment which the natives of India always manifested for Mr Hastings, shows that he had not neglected their welfare, and though the alteration could not be acceptable, made it as

consistent as possible with their feelings and interests.

He found the pecuniary affairs of the Company at a point of extreme depression, and an anxiety to relieve them involved him in the most questionable part of his proceedings. The situation of the provinces on the Upper Ganges afforded him opportunities which he too readily embraced. The Vizier, or Nabob of Oude, an ally of England, having conceived the design of conquering Rohilcund, and expelling the Patan race by whom it was occupied, solicited aid; offering in return forty lacks of rupees, with the maintenance of the British troops sent to his assistance. The governor-general consented; and the English in this expedition found, as usual, that nearly all the hard fighting devolved upon them, while they had the mortification to see their allies indulge in outrageous acts of cruelty and rapine. This severity has been represented, though without sufficient reason, as producing the entire extirpation of the Rohillas; and the reproach incurred in consequence of it fell to a considerable extent on the European auxiliaries.

In the same quarter, the governor-general availed himself of another somewhat doubtful mode of recruiting the Company's finances. To the individual claiming the still lofty character of Great Mogul, after being driven from the main seat of his government, had been assigned under British protection the provinces of Corah and Allahabad. With the view, however, of regaining possession of his capitals, he had been induced to form an alliance with the Mahrattas, and even to join their standard. These warriors soon carried him in triumph to Delhi and Agra; but, ac-

cording to their custom, made him a virtual prisoner, exercising in his name all the power of the empire. They even obliged him to issue an order for delivering into their hands Corah and Allahabad; though the officer in the immediate command chose rather to intrust them to the English. The governor-general then insisted that the emperor, by going over to the Mahrattas, had renounced his connexion with the British, and annulled their obligations to him. He therefore took possession of those provinces, and sold them to the Nabob of Oude for fifty lacks of rupees. On the same ground the annual tribute to the Mogul prince was discontinued. By these proceedings, Mr Hastings, though he did not make any permanent addition to the revenue, relieved the Company from immediate distress.

He was soon placed in a very peculiar and embarrassing situation. By the new constitution there were associated with him four councillors, of whom he was only the president, with a vote and casting vote; thus making it possible that a hostile majority might hold the supreme power. Of these councillors Mr Barwell alone adhered to Mr Hastings; while the three others not only refused to submit to his guidance, but placed themselves in direct and systematic opposition. Every measure proposed by him was rejected; the persons whom he had employed on diplomatic missions were recalled, and others substituted; and the natives encouraged to bring charges against him, which were taken into full consideration. Mr Hastings was thus not only virtually deposed, but placed as a criminal at the bar of his own court. He indignantly refused to plead his cause there, which was laid hold of as

a proof of guilt. At one time, in consequence of his having first offered and then retracted his resignation, there were actually two governments issuing orders at once, so as to give rise to an apprehension of civil war.

The death of Colonel Monson liberated the governor-general from this singular control, and invested him anew with the supreme power. Being involved in expensive wars with Hyder and Tippoo on the coast of Coromandel, and with the Mahrattas in the west of India, he soon found himself reduced to severe financial distress. He had again recourse for relief to the upper provinces. Cheyt Sing, the rajah of Benares, had been for some time a faithful ally, paying a moderate tribute, with an understanding that he should be liable to no farther demand. Under the pressure of the war, however, solicitations and even requisitions were addressed to him, both for additional advances in money and for a contingent of troops; and as the rajah showed extreme reluctance to comply with these demands, employing some of the usual diplomatic artifices to evade them, the governor-general formed the resolution to throw him into prison, and seize his whole treasure. This first design was effected while Mr Hastings himself was at Benares, whither he had repaired with seeming rashness, attended only by a few companies of sepoys. The citizens, inflamed at the outrage offered to their chief, rose with a spirit seldom displayed by an Indian populace, cut in pieces the small detachment of soldiers, and enabled him to regain his liberty. Had they advanced with promptitude, they might have satiated their vengeance by the death of Mr Hastings, who had round

him only a handful of men; but they lost the opportunity, and he made his way to the strong fortress of Chunar. As soon, however, as he could muster his strength and commence active operations the Indian troops dispersed; upon which the people returned to their usual submissive habits. The castle of Bidgegur, to which the rajah had retreated as his last resource, was reduced; but Cheyt Sing effected his escape, and the treasure it contained was found, with feelings of deep disappointment, to fall short of £300,000.

The spoil of the Rajah of Benares having thus failed to afford the expected supply, Mr Hastings was driven to a still more unwarrantable resource. An agreement was made with Asoph-ul-Dowlah, relieving him of a great part of the subsidiary force which he was bound to maintain, on condition of his immediately paying a large sum of money. The full understanding was that this should be drawn from the coffers of the Begums, two aged ladies, the reigning nabob's mother and grandmother, to whom his father, Sujah Dowlah, had left the greater part of his accumulated wealth. It was well foreseen that nothing but the severest torture could induce these venerable dames to yield up their treasured hoards; and, as every principle of duty and decency forbade the application of this to their own persons, their favourite eunuchs were seized, thrown into dungeons, and treated with the utmost indignity. Thus, after long delays and evasions, there was extracted from them nearly half a million sterling; which, however, did not amount to the sum expected.

Mr Hastings soon after returned to Calcutta, and

in February 1785 embarked for England, after an administration of thirteen years. During that period the revenue had been somewhat increased; but the debt had been augmented in a greater proportion. This, however, had resulted from the wars in which the Company were involved, particularly that with Hyder, to which the governor-general could scarcely be considered a party. On arriving in England he found a violent clamour against him. Mr Francis, who in India was his constant and unyielding opponent, had reached Britain before him, and communicated the most unfavourable impressions. The cause was embraced with enthusiastic zeal by Burke, perhaps the greatest orator of the day. He commenced a series of motions, impeaching the conduct of Hastings, and was powerfully seconded by Sheridan; while Pitt, who at first successfully turned them aside, at length gave his entire concurrence. The House then determined to present to the Lords a bill of impeachment against the late governor of India—a measure which excited the deepest interest throughout the nation. This celebrated trial commenced on the 13th February 1788 before a numerous auditory, which included a great part of the royal family. Burke opened the charge by a speech that lasted four days, in which he represented the conduct of Mr Hastings as a compound of treachery and cruelty, disgraceful to the British name, and almost without a parallel in the annals of history. The numerous charges, however, upon which the impeachment was founded, the complexity of the evidence, and the remote quarter whence witnesses were to be brought, protracted the trial to an extraordinary length.

Seven years rolled on, during which the public mind underwent a remarkable change. The warmth of feeling against the real or supposed enormities of the accused gradually subsided, and no small pity was felt for an individual so eminent, who, with nothing yet proved against him, had been doomed not only to endure a heavy load of reproach, but to pass through a life of impeachment. If he had not been cleared of blame, it was evident that the magnitude of his offences had been considerably exaggerated. The interest taken in the transaction languished; and when the vote was called, on the 17th April 1795, the sentence of "not guilty" upon the first charge was carried in a very thin house by a majority of 24 to 6, and upon all the others by majorities not materially different. The Company, after having projected something still more liberal, granted him finally a pension of £4000 a-year for twenty-eight years and a half, and a loan without interest for eighteen years of £50,000 to defray the expenses of the trial.

Meantime the affairs of India had been the subject of anxious deliberation in the legislature, and the measures proposed on this subject were even made the chief ground of debate between the two great political factions. Mr Fox having by his coalition with Lord North obtained a complete ascendency in Parliament, brought in his memorable bill, by which nearly the whole government and patronage of India would have been taken from the Company and vested in the Commons. It was passed without difficulty in that house; yet it increased the odium under which the ministry laboured, being considered as an arrangement that

would throw into their hand such a degree of influence as to render them permanent and absolute, without control either from prince or people. This was so strongly represented to the king, that he authorized Earl Temple to acquaint as many members of the House of Lords as he thought fit, that he would consider those who should vote for the measure to be his personal enemies. It was accordingly rejected, and the coalition were soon afterwards removed from power, when Mr Pitt began his long and brilliant career. It was not long till he introduced a bill, which made a very material change in the administration of India; and from the great popularity which he then enjoyed, and the admission on all hands that some change was necessary, he had little difficulty in carrying it through the two houses.

The leading feature in this measure was the establishment of a new body, invested with high powers, called the Board of Control. It consists of six members, among whom must be the Chancellor of the Exchequer and a Secretary of State. One of these high officers, appointed to act as president, has in fact exercised nearly the whole power of the Board. Its functions, are described somewhat vaguely in the following terms:—"From time to time to check, superintend, and control all acts, operations, and concerns, which in anywise relate to the civil or military government, or revenues of the territories and possessions of the United Company in the East Indies." They are authorized to inspect all correspondence and despatches to and from India, and the proceedings of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors; also to have access to all papers and documents belonging to the Company. They have power to alter and

amend the instructions which that body send out to their servants; and, in certain special cases, can transmit orders directly through a secret committee of the directors, who act as the mere channel of their communications. The directors are allowed an appeal from the Board to the king in council, which, as Mr Mill observes, is little else than an appeal from the king to himself, and has never in practice been resorted to. The same writer considers the Board of Control as now the sole governing power, and the directors as only an instrument for carrying its decisions into effect. It is admitted, however, that the details of Indian affairs have been generally administered by the directors, without vexatious or oppressive interference from the controlling authority. The Board have influenced all the grand measures and appointments, and obtained a large share of the patronage; but the two bodies have, on the whole, worked together with a greater degree of harmony than might have been expected from an independent and ill-defined jurisdiction. The king has the nomination of the commander-in-chief; while the Company appoint the governor-general and all the members of council,—subject however to the approbation of the sovereign, who can at any time recall even the highest of these officers.

This act contained very strict injunctions to renounce all schemes of war and conquest, and for the remedy of other evils, whence the Company's financial distress, and the oppression of their Indian subjects, were supposed to have arisen. On this subject a unanimous sentiment at that moment pervaded the British cabinet. It was obvious, however, that the execution of directions sent to

how distant a settlement would depend upon the personal character and views of the individual holding the chief authority. Much anxiety was therefore felt to select one whose principles might be a pledge for the due fulfilment of the objects now aimed at by the government and Company. For this purpose, Lord Cornwallis, a statesman of high reputation and long experience, was considered, beyond any other individual in England, eminently qualified for the task.

His lordship arrived in India in September 1786, and availing himself of the information afforded by Mr Shore (now Lord Teignmouth), who afterwards succeeded him, immediately applied with the utmost diligence to the arrangement of affairs. Animated by the purest patriotism and integrity, and endowed with a sound judgment, he perhaps did not possess those comprehensive views which form the complete statesman. He was desirous, in conformity with his instructions, to abstain from aggression and conquest in every form; yet we have seen him, on somewhat slender grounds, allowing himself to be drawn into hostilities with Tippoo, which laid the foundation for other contests on a still greater scale. In undertaking to place on an improved basis the financial and judicial systems of British India, he was guided by motives decidedly benevolent. But his arrangements in some cases proceeded on a very imperfect knowledge of the actual state of the country. He applied principles founded upon abstract theory and English practice to a people in whom local prejudices had taken deep root. The sanguine expectations formed from his administration were thus in a great measure disappointed; but the details will be more conveniently

considered before the close of this chapter, in taking a general view of the management of these departments in British India.

Since the time of Lord Cornwallis no material change has taken place in the constitution of the Company, or in the mode of governing their possessions. But it may be interesting to point out the means by which their numerous vassal states have been brought, and are still retained under their control. The first and most efficient of their expedients was to quarter in the territories of an ally, with his consent real or apparent, troops which he either took into pay or maintained, contributing an adequate sum. They were understood to be placed there solely to secure him against foreign aggression, or the efforts of a domestic competitor, but to interfere in no shape with the internal government. The presence, however, in the heart of his dominions, of a force decidedly superior to his own in discipline and number, placed him of course under a silent but real control. This being fully established, the next step was to require that, instead of money-payments, he should cede a portion of territory, the revenues of which *might* defray the expense of the subsidiary troops. With this was combined, not necessarily indeed, but usually, an agreement to intrust the defence of his borders entirely to the Company, and to discontinue all political and diplomatic intercourse with any other power. The last stage of subjection arrived when he was required to resign the whole administration into the hands of the British, and to retain the mere pomp and name of royalty, supported by a liberal allowance of revenue.

Of these three arrangements, the first was often

cheerfully acceded to, and even solicited by the sovereign, when his power appeared in danger either from foreign or domestic enemies. No long time elapsed, however, before the yoke was painfully felt, both by ruler and people; and the second step, consisting in a cession of land, could only be brought about by a feeling of invincible necessity. After this measure was adopted, the government of the Company became, generally speaking, very odious, and intrigues were usually formed for the expulsion of their agents; which, again, afforded a pretext for employing their power to compel the prince to acquiesce in the third or final arrangement.

It is painful to remark, that the divided power, prevailing under these successive systems, has been productive of extensive misgovernment. The rajahs and nabobs, secured by a British force against any insurrection of the people, could defy their discontent, indulge in violent and tyrannical measures, and gratify their avidity by every species of extortion. The entire subjection, therefore, of the sovereign, afforded in general a salutary relief to the great body of the people. Ever after the successful war, which terminated with the capture of Pondicherry, the English were the real masters of the Carnatic, and held the nabob as their vassal; but he showed himself much dissatisfied with his position, and contributed very little to their aid in the formidable contests with Mysore. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, on opening his grand campaign against Tippoo, resolved, as the only mode of rendering the resources of the Carnatic available, to insist that during the war it should be placed entirely in his possession; a liberal provision being made for the chief, to whom,

when peace should return, the government was to be restored. That prince made all the resistance in his power; though he was at length compelled to submit. His territories were occupied, but, agreeably to treaty, given back at the conclusion of the war. This arrangement, however, was found so inconvenient, and the nabob's conduct so little satisfactory, that Marquis Wellesley, before opening his final campaign against Tippoo in 1799, resolved to press a new negotiation, by which a certain portion of territory should be made over to the Company in full and final sovereignty; in consideration of which the entire occupation formerly stipulated should be dispensed with. The rajah strenuously opposed this proposal, and succeeded in delaying its fulfilment till the rapid successes of the British arms had brought the war to a termination. He then maintained that the circumstances had ceased upon which this new demand was founded. There was discovered, however, in the archives of Seringapatam, a series of letters between this prince and the sovereign of Mysore, in which he applied the most flattering language to Tippoo, while he mentioned with disdain the allied powers; describing the English as new comers, the nizam as nothing, and the Mahrattas as contemptible. Mr Mill argues that these were mere empty compliments usual among oriental princes, and to which the nabob was prompted by the vanity of corresponding with so powerful a ruler. But, besides that any intercourse was contrary to express agreement, no friendly interpretation could be put on the terms in which they and their allies were designated. The hostile disposition which these letters manifested was not only in accordance with the general tenor of his

conduct, but arose perhaps necessarily out of his humbled situation. Under these impressions the governor-general directed Lord Clive, the resident, to insist upon carrying into effect the third arrangement; by which the prince was required to resign into the hands of the English the entire administration, civil and military, of his dominions, and to retire with a liberal provision for himself and family. But when Clive received these instructions, his highness laboured under so severe an illness as made it impossible to communicate them. His death following soon after; the complaint, and the demand founded upon it, were first made to his reputed son, Ali Hussein; a circumstance unfavourable to the British, who thus appeared disposed to visit the offences of the father on one who was not even accused of participating in them. The young man showed considerable irresolution; he at one time gave his consent; but, swayed by the advice of his guardians, he finally met the proposals with a positive rejection. The Company then looked round for another branch of the blood-royal, whom the advantages still attached to the name of nabob might incline to govern on their own terms. They pitched upon Azeem-ul-Dowlah, a nephew of the deceased, who having no other access to greatness was easily induced to accept this dignity, even on the unfavourable conditions upon which it was tendered. A similar arrangement had just been made with the Rajah of Tanjore; who retired on a pension consisting of a lack of pagodas and a third part of the nett revenues; and hence the English were established in the uncontrolled administration, civil and military, of the whole Carnatic.

The nizam, who had long fluctuated between a French and British alliance, was in 1798, through the vigorous measures of the Marquis Wellesley, compelled to accept the latter, and to permit the occupation of his country by a subsidiary force. The overthrow of the house of Mysore had the effect of reducing him to a state of complete dependence, of which the marquis took advantage, and required him to cede a large extent of territory, including all that he had received on the partition of Tippoo's dominions. To this was also annexed the condition, that he should intrust all his foreign intercourse to the English. Since that time, although many discontents have fermented between the two parties, affairs have proceeded without any material change in their relative situation.

The nabobship of Oude, combined with the nominal yet still respected title of vizier, when held by the vigorous hands of Sujah Dowlah, formed one of the most important fragments into which the Mogul empire had been separated. This chief invited and even bribed the English, with the view of aiding him in the subjection of Rohilcund, and in defending himself against the Mahrattas. But under his feeble successor, Asoph-ul-Dowlah, it was felt that the army of occupation at once burdened the finances and kept the country in real subjection. Continued remonstrances were therefore employed to procure a reduction of this force; and Mr Hastings had agreed, in consideration of the sum paid out of the spoil of the Begums, to withdraw a great part of it. During the administration of Sir John Shore, Asoph-ul-Dowlah died, and his reputed son, Vizier Ali, at first succeeded; but the governor

being convinced of his illegitimacy, employed the British power in raising to the throne Saadut Ali, eldest surviving brother of Asoph-ul-Dowlah. Soon afterwards, Vizier Ali, with his partisans, either through design or in the heat of passion, having attacked and assassinated at Benares Mr Cherry, the English resident, and some other gentlemen, was obliged to take flight, and his person was afterwards secured. The new nabob, who owed his existence to the Company, was obliged to agree to a treaty by which the subsidiary force was to be considerably enlarged, with a discretionary power to augment it still farther. He soon, however, began, like other Indian princes, to show symptoms of uneasiness under the thraldom to which he was thus reduced; and Marquis Wellesley thought it advisable to demand that he should receive a larger body of troops, and cede for their support the valuable territories of Rohilcund and the Doab,—an arrangement by which he was completely enclosed within the British dominions, and separated from all the other powers of India.

Among the acquisitions made by negotiation,—that is by demands which the other party were unable to resist,—was that of Surat in 1800, and of Furruckabad in 1802, when their respective nabobs were pensioned at the rate of £12,000 a-year. By a convention also in 1817, a considerable part of Guzerat, including Ahmedabad the capital, was annexed to the Company's dominions.

The following estimate of the extent and population of the territories now included in British India, has just been published by Parliament:—

	Square Miles.	Population.
Presidency of Bengal,	220,312	69,710,071
Districts, the population of which is doubtful,	85,700	
Madras,	141,923¾	13,508,535
Bombay,	59,438¼	6,251,546
Districts, the population of which is doubtful,	5,550	
	512,923¾	89,470,152

The population of the doubtful districts, being situated on the Nerbudda in Berar and Concan, is probably not large; so that the whole will not much exceed ninety millions. The territory of the allied or protected, that is the subject states, is estimated at 614,610 square miles; their population, however, is not supposed nearly equal to that of the territories under the immediate government of the Company. Mr Hamilton, in the second edition of his Gazetteer, estimates it as follows:—

The Nizam,	10,000,000
The Nagpoor Rajah,	3,000,000
The King of Oude,	3,000,000
The Guickwar,	2,000,000
The Satara Rajah,	1,500,000
The Mysore Rajah,	3,000,000
Travancore and Cochin,	1,000,000
Kotah, Boondee, and Bopaul,	1,500,000
Rajpoot and other petty States,	15,000,000
	40,000,000

The same gentleman makes the following conjecture as to the states that still remain independent:—

Sindia,	4,000,000
Lahore, Rajah Rungeet Singh,	3,000,000
Sinde,	1,000,000
Nepaul,	2,000,000
Cashmere and other Districts belonging to the King of Cabul,	1,000,000
	11,000,000

This would give for the whole of India a population of upwards of 140 millions.

In the government administered by the Company,

the most striking feature is that military force by which their extensive dominion was originally acquired and is still held in submission. Its composition is perhaps more remarkable than that of any army ever levied. India is subjected to a foreign yoke by her own troops, paid with her own money. It might at first appear that a conquering state could not without the utmost peril rely on such means. Yet the conduct of the sepoys or native troops, under British commanders, has entirely removed all such apprehension; having been employed more than half a century in extending British sovereignty over India, during which they have frequently distinguished themselves. On the Plain of Assaye, and on the bulwarks of Seringapatam, they fought side by side with European troops. Their fidelity has not been less remarkable. It was put to the severest test when the subsidiary force stationed at the capital of the peishwa, consisting partly of troops levied within his territories, were assailed at once with earnest solicitations and high bribes to join the ranks of their original sovereign. They all remained incorruptible, and officers, some of whom were of low rank, brought to the resident large sums of money which had been offered as the price of desertion. It is, however, of importance that they should have a commander who understands their character and treats them kindly. There is scarcely any thing which they will not undertake for one of this description. Their mutinies have not been frequent. The dreadful one at Vellore, in 1806, undoubtedly originated from the rash interference with usages connected with their ideas of religion and order,—a compulsory change in the form of the tur-

ban, and a prohibition to retain on the face, while on service, the distinctive mark of their caste. It was fomented also by Mussulman chiefs, who hoped by that means to re-establish the fallen dynasty of Mysore. The great mutiny of 1809, excited by the rigour of Sir George Barlow, was confined to the European officers; and while it raged in the garrisons of Hydrabad, Seringapatam, and Masulipatan, the native soldiers are said to have been ignorant of its existence.

The political situation and feelings of the Hindoos account for the facility with which they have lent themselves to their own subjugation. Long obedient to the absolute rule of foreigners, whose manners and religion they disliked, almost all their national attachments were obliterated. Rammohun Roy observes, that the peasantry in general are quite ignorant both of the former and present government, and consequently quite indifferent to either. Disaffection is confined to men of aspiring character and of ancient family, who have no longer any means by which they can arrive at power or office. The troops fight for pay and plunder; being ready to defend him whose bread they eat against sovereign, friends, and country. They do not, however, act from motives purely mercenary, but consider themselves bound in honour to support the cause of him by whom they are maintained, and not to enter the ranks of another till the first has completely fallen.

The native army attained by gradual steps its present strength and discipline. A few sepoy battalions were at first employed merely as an appendage to the Company's forces; while a captain, adju-

tant, and some sergeants, were the only English officers attached to them. With the skill which these communicated, and the use of musketry, they easily vanquished the irregular troops of the native princes. When the latter, however, began to improve their military system and introduce European tactics, it became necessary to raise our sepoy force to a higher degree of efficiency; their complement of British officers was progressively increased, and they were more and more assimilated to regiments of the line. This method was brought into full operation in 1796; since which time no native has been allowed to rise above the rank of subahdar, the highest pay attached to which is 147 rupees per month; and in that station, after a life of service, he is subject to the command, and perhaps the insolence, of the youngest European officer. Sir John Malcolm considers this state of affairs as very discouraging to the zeal of the natives; and, though he does not recommend that they should be raised to high commands, suggests that grants of land or lucrative civil employments should be bestowed as a recompense for long and faithful services. The native army now comprises above 230,000 infantry and 26,000 cavalry. The Company have also about 8000 troops levied in Europe. A number of king's regiments, the united amount of which must not exceed 20,000, are constantly employed, and have double pay allowed them.

The *revenue* of India is derived almost exclusively from land; and the English, according to the example of the Mogúl government, were disposed to draw from it the utmost possible amount which would leave a decent subsistence to the owner and culti-

vator. Lord Cornwallis, with the concurrence of the Company, determined to introduce the system of permanent settlement; by which the proprietor would be assured that, when the tax had once been fixed, he should reap the fruits of whatever improvement he might effect. But it is remarkable that extreme difficulty has been found in ascertaining the real proprietor. There appeared three distinct parties having plausible pretensions to be so considered. These were the Great Mogul, in whose place the Company now stood; the zemindars, or hereditary officers, who collected the land-revenue and remitted it to the sovereign, retaining a certain proportion; and the ryot, or hereditary occupant, who, provided he paid the assessment, could not be legally ejected. The latter appeared in Bengal under so humble an aspect, that it seemed impossible to recognise his right to the dignified title of a landed proprietor; yet the observations of those gentlemen who have had an opportunity of closely examining the districts where Hindoo institutions remained in full force, seem to leave no doubt that the ryot is the original owner. The Institutes of Menu distinctly recognise land as the property of him who cut away the wood and first cleared and tilled it. Wilks, who had very extensive means of acquiring knowledge relative to Southern India, and whose views upon the subject Sir John Malcolm considers as incontrovertible, seems to have ascertained that the share of the produce which could be claimed by the sovereign did not, according to the ancient Hindoo law, exceed a sixth. In Travancore, indeed, the most southern territory, and the one least affected by foreign conquest, it at this moment varies from a twentieth

to a fortieth. Extensive encroachments were made by the conquering dynasties professing the Moslem religion; but the rights claimed by these fierce warriors rested entirely on their swords, according to which they held alike as their own the property and the persons of vanquished infidels. Even under the proud sway of Rajpootana, it had become the established maxim of the ryot:—"The government is owner of the rent, but I am the master of the land." It has been maintained, that when reduced to the mere profits of farming, he could by no means be considered as proprietor, but only as perpetual lessee. Yet even this narrowed possession is highly valued and proudly boasted of. The Hindoo derives from it an assured subsistence, as the soil cultivated by his fathers, and which, he hopes, will be tilled by his descendants.

On the whole, then, the only dispute appears to lie between the sovereign and the ryot. The zemindar, who merely collected rents for the former, seems to have no substantial claim whatever; yet in Bengal, at the time when the settlement was to be made, he appeared the greatest man in the district, corresponding to the country gentleman or the feudal baron of Europe. He lived with the pomp of a nobleman, and sometimes of a prince; he commanded a body of troops; he possessed even the chief criminal jurisdiction within his limits. The ryots, on the contrary, reduced to the lowest poverty, subject to arbitrary exactions, and to have their annual payments raised at the will of their superior, appeared to rank not as farmers in our sense of the word, but rather as the villains and bondmen of the middle ages. It was determined,

therefore, to consider the zemindars as the actual proprietors, and the ryots merely as renters. The permanent settlement was made upon the former class; and on payment of a fixed annual sum, whether of the description of tax or rental, but never to be increased, they remained in every other respect the clear owners of the property. They were only required to give to the ryots a puttah, or bond fixing the annual rent, on payment of which the latter were to remain undisturbed in the occupation of their farms.

Never perhaps did a measure originate in motives so pure, involving so extensive a sacrifice, and yet be productive of so much distress and injustice. It set out with wresting from the ryots, the great body of the agricultural population, rights which, though much narrowed and invaded, were still fondly prized. But so impossible is it to predict the consequences of any remarkable change, that the unjustly-favoured class of zemindars were those to whom it proved the most ruinous. The payments demanded from them amounted in fact to nearly the rack-rent of the whole country. It was therefore difficult for them to avoid falling into arrear. But non-payment was speedily followed by a summary process of sequestration, and the sale of the lands; while they had no means of drawing funds from the ryots, unless by a method, which, as will presently appear, is beyond measure tedious and dilatory. Before they could realize their rents, the farms were seized and sold for the dues to government; and a most extensive transference of property has been thus occasioned. Nor have the ryots recovered any of their rights by the change.

Their poverty precluded any attempt to become the purchasers of the forfeited estates, which fell into the hands of speculators, consisting generally of the opulent inhabitants of the cities. The evil is done, and cannot well be retrieved: the lands are sold, and no stretch of justice admits of their being resumed. Indeed it seems acknowledged by the greatest opponents of this system, that the principle of permanent settlement, whatever mischief its misapplication may in the first instance have produced, by ensuring to the proprietor the fruits of all the improvement he may accomplish, is beginning to produce the most happy effects. Under this encouragement, considerable tracts formerly waste have been brought under culture; but Rammohun Roy, in his late evidence before Parliament, complains that the ryots, whose poverty renders them little able to make head against a wealthy landlord, are in as unprotected and impoverished a state as ever.

In a considerable portion of the Carnatic, an arrangement has been more recently attempted on an entirely different principle. In effecting this measure the ryots were considered as the real proprietors, and upon them the permanent settlement was made by Sir Thomas Munro. That liberal governor, however, was induced by the urgency and necessity of the Company to fix the rent at 45 per cent. of the produce, which was so high as to leave no probability of its being then paid; but it was hoped that the operation of the system would produce in a short time such an improvement as to render even this high rate not too burdensome. Meantime accommodations were made from year to year according to circumstances; but no final pos-

session was to be granted till the payment reached the standard fixed by the Company. It was overlooked in this plan, that the permanent grant, out of which the improvement was expected to arise, did not exist; consequently the benefits naturally flowing from it were looked for in vain. An attempt was then made to form a village-administration, where the potail, or headman, levied the rent from the ryots, and was responsible for its amount; being empowered, in case of any deficiency, to lay on an extra assessment. This arrangement was made first for three, then for ten years; but before the last period expired the system had entirely failed, after great oppression had been suffered on the part of the cultivator. The direct lease was then again resorted to, with a deduction, which indeed Munro had strongly recommended, of a fourth or a third of the rent originally exacted; but hardly any favourable result has yet been obtained, either as to the improvement of the country or the relief of its cultivators.

On the western coast, the rent was fixed, as in Tippoo's time, at 25 per cent. for Canara, and 30 for Malabar; but the rigid exaction of this amount is said to have occasioned numerous sales, and a great transference of landed property. The Bombay government has been engaged in an extensive survey of the Mahratta territory, ceded by the last treaty, with a view to a settlement, which may exist first for five, then for thirty years, and afterwards be rendered permanent. A great portion of this territory, however, was from political motives assigned to jaghiredars, who held it in feudal tenure under the English government, to whom they paid only a regulated tribute.

The lands of Guzerat, which has always been the most flourishing of the provinces, and where the cultivator has been least oppressed, are let on leases of seven years at the same rate as before.

We are indebted to materials collected by Mr Rickards for the following general view of the financial transactions of the East India Company for the thirty-five years between 1793 and 1828, in the course of which they obtained such vast accessions to their territorial sovereignty:—

Years.	REVENUE.	CHARGES.				LOANS.	
		In India.	Bencoolen, Prince of Wales Island, &c.	St Helena.	In England.	Contracted.	Repaid.
	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.
1793-4	8,276,770	6,066,924	40,822	. . .	171,392	. . .	666,408
1794-5	8,026,193	6,083,507	62,080	. . .	165,399	. . .	506,525
1795-6	7,866,094	6,474,247	104,154	. . .	199,128	336,950	. . .
1796-7	8,016,171	7,081,191	101,190	. . .	375,097	2,096,851	. . .
1797-8	8,059,880	7,411,401	165,299	. . .	203,784	1,725,835	. . .
1798-9	8,632,055	8,417,813	129,668	. . .	300,736	1,717,178	. . .
1799-0	9,756,672	8,998,154	171,363	. . .	273,817	1,414,770	. . .
1800-1	10,485,959	10,405,501	156,525	. . .	307,635	2,611,507	. . .
1801-2	12,163,589	11,025,452	241,220	. . .	482,730	1,795,437	. . .
1802-3	13,464,537	10,965,427	196,818	. . .	393,207	1,168,375	. . .
1803-4	13,271,585	15,001,083	504,056	. . .	435,224	2,549,229	. . .
1804-5	14,919,395	14,548,453	372,163	. . .	485,604	3,505,149	. . .
1805-6	15,405,409	15,561,328	250,599	. . .	575,795	2,875,408	. . .
1806-7	14,535,739 54,601	15,283,908	179,197	. . .	492,083	1,742,502	. . .
1807-8	15,669,905	13,624,622	128,737	. . .	505,797	1,763,478	. . .
1808-9	15,525,055	13,151,224	158,208	. . .	550,766	. . .	1,151,031
1809-0	16,464,591 289,076	13,775,577	119,540	83,821	1,057,225	1,089,269	. . .
1810-1	16,679,198	13,909,983	108,443	81,220	1,119,391	. . .	3,471,578
1811-2	16,605,616	13,220,967	86,434	81,854	1,077,768	1,440,521	. . .
1812-3	16,459,774	13,659,429	118,357	82,992	1,378,760	289,897	. . .
1813-4	17,228,711	13,617,725	114,703	95,254	1,212,415	945,453	. . .
1814-5	17,231,191	14,182,451	112,163	92,087	1,194,596	1,671,183	. . .
1815-6	17,168,195	15,081,587	127,853	97,705	1,281,885	618,127	. . .
1816-7	18,010,155	15,129,839	107,667	97,705	1,265,550	548,298	. . .
1817-8	18,305,265	15,844,964	122,088	97,705	1,176,642	971,283	. . .
1818-9	19,592,002	17,558,615	112,519	97,705	1,280,540	2,692,990	. . .
1819-0	19,172,506	17,040,818	144,344	97,705	1,415,446	2,438,822	. . .
1820-1	21,292,036	17,520,612	122,538	97,705	1,300,164	. . .	333,014
1821-2	21,755,271	17,555,668	110,111	97,705	1,377,884	. . .	866,421
1822-3	23,120,954	18,083,482	134,668	120,093	1,559,107	. . .	1,751,997
1823-4	21,238,625	18,902,511	126,008	112,268	1,153,866	. . .	2,342,925
1824-5	20,705,152	20,410,929	169,828	109,449	1,580,259	1,232,440	. . .
1825-6	21,096,966	22,346,565	103,872	110,413	1,817,252	6,152,766	. . .
1826-7	25,327,753	21,424,894	93,473	114,500	2,429,894	1,008,935	. . .
1827-8	22,802,947	21,815,649	164,776	119,576	2,060,141	4,633,682	. . .
L.	552,500,229	489,180,310	5,069,114	1,887,462	32,654,957	50,922,535	11,069,489

The following is a more detailed view of the revenues and charges of India for the years 1828–9, 1829–30, with the estimate for 1830–1 :—

REVENUES.	1828-9.	1829-30.	Estimate. 1830-1.
	L.	L.	L.
Bengal,	14,785,860	13,825,280	14,261,040
Fort St George,	5,575,049	5,415,587	5,525,890
Bombay,	2,331,802	2,421,443	2,782,991
Prince of Wales Island, Sincapore, & Malacca,	47,980	32,897	*
Total,	22,740,691	21,695,207	22,569,921
Charges in India,	21,605,507	20,462,745	20,149,645
Nett Revenues in India,	1,135,184	1,232,464	2,420,276
CHARGES.			
Bengal,	10,143,611	9,445,799	9,409,822
Fort St George,	5,502,224	5,254,075	5,052,274
Bombay,	3,652,787	3,601,979	3,497,851
Prince of Wales Island, Sincapore, & Malacca,	185,720	155,197	*
Total,	19,481,342	18,455,050	17,959,947
Interest on Debts,	2,121,165	2,007,695	2,209,698
Total Charges and Interest,	21,605,507	20,462,745	20,149,645
Expense of St Helena,	115,054	93,004	86,044
Political Charges paid in England, including invoice amount of Territorial Stores consigned to India,	1,967,405	1,742,162	1,466,215
Grand Total,	25,685,966	22,297,909	21,701,904
Revenues,	22,740,691	21,695,207	22,569,921
Surplus Revenue,			868,017
Surplus Charge,	L.945,275	602,702	

* The receipts and charges of these Residencies are now included in the Bengal account.

The Company's debts are stated to have amounted, on the 1st January 1831, to £32,213,759 in India, and £13,916,431 in England; in all, £46,130,190. At the same date, their property and the debts due to them in India were £36,691,719, in England £12,372,975; in all, £49,064,694. This would leave a balance in their favour of nearly three millions. But Mr M'Culloch, in the valuable Dictionary of Commerce which he has just published, observes, that a great part of their Indian claims, consisting of arrears of tribute, is never likely to be realized, and that their forts and warehouses, though they may in some sense be estimated as

above, would not, if put up to sale, bring perhaps a third of the amount.

This position of the Company has prompted them to great exertions of economy, and to every possible reduction upon their establishments; but these measures, so far as they affect the military, have only given rise to considerable discontent.

The judicial arrangements introduced by Marquis Cornwallis proved, if possible, still less satisfactory than those relating to revenue. In India, as over all the East, this branch of administration was exercised directly and personally by the sovereign or his deputy. The zemindar, in this last capacity, at once collected the revenues, maintained the police, and decided in all cases civil and criminal. This he did by a summary process, hearing each cause from the mouths of the parties, and judging according to principles of equity without any technical rule or study. His sentences were often corrupt and prejudiced; but they were prompt, and founded upon an intimate knowledge of the persons interested. The British, on assuming the government, acted at first upon this principle, so far as to combine the offices of judge and collector. Lord Cornwallis rejecting these arrangements, which were certainly false in principle, attempted too hastily to substitute the full and regular operation of English law. The country was divided into zillahs, each containing a court, in which presided a European judge with native assistants. From these courts an appeal lay to superior tribunals at Calcutta, Patna, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, and from them a final appeal might be made to a supreme judicatory in the capital, called the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, com-

posed of the governor in council, assisted by Mohammedan and Hindoo lawyers. The judges of the four appeal courts, going in circuit, tried criminal causes; but their sentences might also be brought under the revision of a supreme tribunal, similarly constituted, called the Nizamut Adawlut.

This system, however plausible and well intended, was found in its operation very unsuitable to the habits of Indian society. Instead of the brief and summary process, founded on obvious and common-sense principles, there was substituted a complex code, in a great measure unknown to the people; and, instead of stating their own case and obtaining a decision at once, they were obliged to employ pleaders, a new class of men whom it was necessary to create for the purpose, while they had also to endure the numerous inconveniences of protracted litigation. These were soon multiplied. It is a general practice in India never to discharge debts till compelled by necessity; and when it was discovered that by not paying till a lawsuit was instituted a long delay could be gained, this course was adopted to an extent which increased incredibly the number of processes. The time thus spent, and the temptation to profit by it, were more and more augmented, till the undecided cases swelled to an unprecedented multitude. These delays, amounting almost to a denial of justice, caused, as already observed, the ruin of the whole body of zemindars without any benefit to their dependent ryots. Even after the fullest examination, the English lawyers found themselves very ill qualified to form a correct opinion. The general indifference to the obligation of an oath, which the most respectable natives con-

sider unlawful, joined to the ignorance of the judge in regard to habits and modes of thinking altogether foreign to those which prevail in England, rendered it impossible to discover the truth in many cases, where the shrewd sense and local experience of the zemindar would have discerned it by a species of intuition. In consequence of the difficulty of bringing the guilty to justice, the system of decoity for some time increased to a great degree. No complete remedy has yet been found for these defects in the legal system, and a complaint was recently made in a native newspaper, that every one who had brought a plea before the supreme court found it terminate in his ruin. The expedients from which intelligent writers entertain the greatest hope, are the more frequent employment of natives, and the extension of the punchayets,—a sort of jury, which in many districts there is a great disposition to employ.

CHAPTER IX.

British Social System in India.

Peculiar Situation of the British in India—Different Classes—Cadets or Military Officers—Writers or Civil Servants—Medical Practitioners—Other Classes—Dangers of Extravagance—Society in the great Cities—Mode of spending the Day—Entertainments—Hunting—Splendour of Calcutta—Character of the English in India—East Indians—Missionary Exertions—The Baptist Mission—Translations of the Scriptures—London Missionary Society—Church Missionary Society—Scottish Societies—General Result of Missions—Abolition of Suttees—Its Effects—Pilgrim Tax.

THE British inhabitants of India form a population of a very peculiar description. They are completely the ruling class, perform all the functions of government, and fill all places of power and profit. Yet the country is in no degree their own; they cannot hold an acre of land unless in the close vicinity of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, nor without special permission make it their permanent abode. They consider their residence there as an exile, feeling that they belong to another people separated by the navigation of half the globe. In short, their object is to go out to India before twenty, and to return before fifty with a fortune, or at least an independence, which they may enjoy in their native land.

The young men who go thither in the hope of re-

turning with wealth or competence belong to three professions,—the military, civil, and medical. The first of these, named cadets, receive their appointments from the court of directors. Those destined for the artillery and engineer departments are nominated to the Company's military school at Addiscombe, though their particular service is not determined until they have undergone a public examination. Every candidate must produce a certificate of his birth,—he must not be under fourteen nor above eighteen years of age,—must have no bodily or mental defect to disqualify him for military service,—be able to write a good legible hand,—read and construe Cæsar's Commentaries,—be expert in vulgar and decimal fractions,—and have a good character from the master under whom he last studied. Such cadets as the public examiner reports duly qualified are appointed to the corps of artillery. Those who possess superior diligence, talents, and attainments, are selected for the engineers, and sent, with the rank of ensign, to finish their education at Chatham, where they remain a year, and are clothed and maintained at the Company's expense. Cavalry and infantry cadets receive appointments direct for India without going to the seminary, but are required to possess the same qualifications as the candidates for Addiscombe, except in point of age. They must be above sixteen, and under twenty-two, unless they have been one year in his majesty's service; in which case they are eligible, if not more than twenty-five. Their equipment and the expenses of the voyage, defrayed by themselves, always exceed £200, and on a very liberal scale will amount to £400. The arrangements for conveying

them to India are explained by Captain Dalrymple in the succeeding volume.* As soon as they arrive there they begin to receive pay, and on the first vacancy are appointed to the rank of ensign. From this time, with ordinary good conduct, their promotion is assured, and they rise by successive steps, as vacancies occur, to the rank of colonel. The emoluments for such as have the full batta, or field-allowance, are somewhat more than double those in king's regiments at home, and after twenty-two years of active service an officer may retire on full pay. He has the option, in the middle of this period, of spending three years in Europe, during which he has only the ordinary British pay, while he thereby extends his servitude to twenty-five years; besides, if his absence is protracted beyond five years, he forfeits his commission. Where he has enjoyed no extraordinary advantage, the continuance of his pay for life is the only benefit with which he returns to England; the great expense of living, as well as of moving from one station to another, rendering it difficult to save any thing from his income. Some, however, by interest or talent, obtain separate appointments and commands, or are sent on missions to native courts, which afforded at one time the means of realizing immense fortunes, and on account of the importance of the duty have still considerable emoluments attached to them.

The civil servants, called writers, receive their appointment from the same quarter as the cadets; but as their prospects of wealth are greater, higher interest is necessary to procure it. They are edu-

* Page 428.

cated in the East India College at Haileybury. It is provided, that no candidate shall be nominated until he has completed the sixteenth year of his age. And no person who has been dismissed the army or navy, or has been expelled from any place of public education, will be received in the college. No student can be appointed a writer to India, whose age is less than eighteen, or more than twenty-two years; nor until he shall have resided one term at least at Haileybury, and obtained a certificate, signed by the principal in the name of the council, of his having conformed himself to the statutes and regulations of the college. He must farther declare, that he accepts the office of his own free will and choice. For some years the number educated in this seminary was insufficient to supply the demands for the civil service; and, by act of Parliament, the directors were empowered to admit candidates for civil stations, under the following conditions:—That a board of examiners, consisting of two professors from Oxford, and two from Cambridge, be appointed to examine the candidate in classics, mathematics, and history. A proficiency in the native tongues is not absolutely required for this class of writers at the examination; but no civil servant in India can enter upon his official duties unless he be master of at least two Oriental languages. He must produce testimonials of good moral conduct from the principal or superior authority of the college or public institution where he may have been educated. This mode of selecting writers is for the present discontinued, and all civil appointments are confined to the college. These nominations are in the gift of the directors. A yearly return

is prepared of the number required to fill vacancies occasioned by death or retirement. When this is ascertained, the patronage is divided among them individually, and they are at liberty to name any one they please, under certain stipulations. A writership is considered so valuable, as to be solicited by parents in the first circles of society; for it opens to an active and intelligent young man an extended sphere of usefulness and laudable ambition. On his arrival in India, the young civilian is allowed twelve or fifteen months to complete his acquirements in the native languages; after which, if he has not rendered himself master of at least two, he must resign and return to England. During this period of probation his talent for some particular line is generally developed, and he is selected for the diplomatic, the judicial, the revenue, or the commercial department,—in all of which the emoluments are good, and the promotion principally dependent upon zeal and ability. A member of council is the highest post a civilian can hold, except the governorship of Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras. These offices are filled up by the court of directors: all other appointments emanate from the governor or governor-general in council. In India, where there are only enough of officers for the work to be performed, there can be no sinecures and no deputies. If a man is idle or incompetent, he must remain contented with a duty of minor importance. There is scarcely a native in the whole country, and certainly not one in a subordinate capacity, who could conduct the daily correspondence of a civilian at a remote station,—he must therefore write himself, or the *hookam* for his recall will

quickly be issued. Many of this class return to England in the prime of life with large fortunes. Their attachment to the service and practical knowledge of business, make such gentlemen most eligible candidates for the East India direction. A civil servant may retire after twenty-five years' residence (which includes three years' furlough) on an annuity of £1000 per annum, secured to him by annual contribution to a fund created for that purpose. A fund is also appropriated to the relief of the widows and orphans of the same class, who are obliged to subscribe. The military are likewise compelled to support an institution for similar purposes. To all these benevolent objects the Company contribute most liberally.

A considerable number of *medical* practitioners are also attached to the extensive army maintained by the Company. Assistant-surgeons for India, who are not received under twenty-two years of age, must be qualified by diploma or certificate from the Royal College of Surgeons, as well as by an attestation from the Company's examining physician. In service they pass through successive *grades* analogous to those of the regimental officers. Assistant-surgeon corresponds to lieutenant, full-surgeon to captain, superintending-surgeon to major; junior member of the medical board to lieutenant-colonel; senior member to colonel. The most advantageous situation is that of surgeon to a native prince; and those attached to the residencies at foreign courts receive staff-allowance in addition to their pay. Some are employed in garrisons, while others remain at the presidencies, where they have the chance of obtaining practice among opulent Englishmen and

natives. Medical servants also, after a certain period, retire on a liberal allowance.

All persons receiving appointments, whether civil or military, are required to give a solemn pledge that no pecuniary or other consideration has been given in exchange. Any individual so offending, in case of discovery at the time, or at any future period, forfeits all his appointments, and is subject to a criminal prosecution by act of Parliament.

Among the residents in India may also be mentioned the judges and officers of the king's supreme courts; the members of the church establishment, who receive their appointments from the court of directors; and the royal troops serving in that country. All these, however, usually go out at an advanced age with their habits already formed. The private merchants, we may add, are a considerable and very influential class.

The prospects of wealth and independence which India opens to the young adventurer are not always realized. Though his income is probably more liberal than he would have enjoyed at home, the necessary expenses are large, and there are many temptations to extravagance.

The Hindoos and the British have two entirely different modes of spending money. The former employ it in numerous trains of attendants, and occasional but magnificent public exhibitions, while their daily fare and domestic habits are simple in the extreme. The English at home, with much less regard to show, study chiefly good living and comfortable accommodation. In India they unite both these modes of expenditure. The pomp is dictated to them by the fashion of the country, and the ne-

cessity of obtaining respect among the people, while the luxury of the table is conformable to their previous habits, and necessary to preserve their influence among their countrymen.

The maintenance of a numerous body of servants is an expense which the usages of the country unavoidably entail upon the European resident. This is the kind of state in which above all others the opulent natives delight; and in conformity to it a system has been established, by which each domestic appropriates to himself a peculiar and very limited function, beyond which he will on no account proceed. There must be a flambeau-bearer, water-carrier, water-cooler, palanquin-bearers, pipe-holder, grass-cutter, and others whose duties are as strictly limited. The obstinacy with which the natives adhere to every thing connected with caste and employment, renders it impossible to break through these restrictions. A servant of all work is quite unattainable. Hence, for a family, thirty domestics are considered a very moderate establishment. But this remark, in its full force, chiefly applies to Calcutta. At Madras and Bombay the subdivision of work is much less minute, and consequently the number required is less formidable. This body of menials, however, is maintained at no very extravagant cost. Their usual pay is small, amounting in the case of palanquin-bearers to not more than four rupees monthly, though the upper servants receive from ten to twenty, and sometimes even more; but they supply themselves with food and clothing, and generally live out of the house. The expense is therefore not so great as might be apprehended, and it consists in a fixed rate of wages, which

may always be exactly calculated. Most of those employed, therefore, especially in the civil service, might, with due economy, easily support themselves in comfort, and retire with a competent fortune. As the income, too, of every individual is known from the situation which he holds, there is no temptation to impose on the public by false appearances. But thoughtless youths, with a liberal allowance and an assurance of progressive advancement, accustomed perhaps to expensive habits at home, and removed from the eye of their relations, are, nevertheless, too apt to indulge in a profuse style of living. A debt, which their augmenting resources may enable them easily to discharge, appears no very serious evil. They obtain ample loans from the native baboo, or money-lender, a most accommodating and profligate person, who readily advances funds to almost any extent. As soon as, by the accumulation of principal and interest, he has got the young Englishman completely in his power, he begins to act as a master, insists on providing him with a sircar, or superintendent of the household, through whose hands all his money must pass. This functionary defrauds in every possible shape, acts in collusion with the different tradesmen employed, and often obliges his master to incur dishonour by appointing him to places of importance and emolument. In short, the unhappy youth sinks deeper and deeper, till, when the time comes that he ought to have returned to Europe, he finds himself overwhelmed in hopeless embarrassment.

As a capital, Calcutta differs in many important respects from those of Europe. It has not a single place of public amusement—no theatres—no gam-

ing-houses. It has no galleries of painting or sculpture, very few institutions for useful or scientific purposes—only one literary society, the Asiatic; but, we must add, a fine botanical garden belonging to the Company.* This description applies equally to Madras and Bombay. Private theatricals, however, are common all over India, more particularly at the presidencies. Masquerades are frequent, and often successful; music is much cultivated, and considerable encouragement bestowed on professors. Some years ago in Calcutta, a French family of musicians having been unfortunate, a concert was got up for their benefit. The performers were amateur ladies and gentlemen, and the tickets *one hundred rupees* each; in three days the sum received was upwards of 10,000 rupees,—a splendid, but far from solitary instance of benevolence. In European cities, the class of society who may be termed the managers of social intercourse and amusement are independent persons of no profession. In India there is no such class, unless, overlooking the difference of sex, we turn to our fair countrywomen, and perhaps it may not be improperly said that they are the directors of social pleasure.

The habit of early rising is so essential to health and comfort, that few persons of either sex are found to prolong their slumbers beyond gun-fire, which is the moment of sunrise. To ride or drive at this time is peculiarly grateful. As the gentlemen holding official situations seldom have their offices attached to a private dwelling, they are necessarily absent from home during the greater part of the day. In the morning the amusements of the

* See vol. iii. p. 158.

ladies are various, but wholly different from those of a fashionable woman in England. The native dealers carry their tempting wares to the houses, and it is no unusual thing to see the apartments strewed with the splendid productions of Cashmere and other rare commodities of the East. Yet Indian ornaments are seldom worn where they are so common, and an article of dress fresh from Europe is more highly prized. It is not meant to be insinuated that the whole morning is thus occupied. In no part of the world is female influence more deeply felt, or more beneficially exercised, than in India. There is nothing in the climate to prevent the cultivation of all those accomplishments for which our fair countrywomen are so justly famed; and, to the honour of the sex, they neglect none of those elevating pursuits which so strikingly distinguish the English gentlewoman. Many visits are paid about two o'clock, the time of *tiffin*, which is a very sociable and substantial meal. After this repast the gentlemen return to their official occupations, and the ladies retire to their apartments to read or rest as inclination dictates. In the evening the whole Indian world, British and native, able to sport an equipage, sally forth to breathe the cool air. In Calcutta the race-course is the point of attraction; at Madras the Mount Road; whilst round the whole island of Bombay runs a very beautiful drive, one turning of which has by the gossips been denominated Scandal Point,—another, Love Grove.

Large dinner-parties are common, and, notwithstanding the heat, go off well. The apartments are spacious, and the *punkah*, which extends over the whole table, moderates the temperature. Each per-

son is attended by his own servant or servants. In a company composed of individuals from different parts of India, the variety of costume exhibited in the dress of their respective attendants is very striking. The colours displayed in the turban and cumberbund are usually those which in Europe would constitute the livery. For the reasons already mentioned, a numerous retinue is absolutely necessary. The khidmutgar or personal servant often becomes much attached, and enters very fully into all the habits of his master.

At all the presidencies the parties at the government-house on "red letter days" are on a scale of great magnificence, and the invitation is given by advertisement in the newspaper, addressed to all persons in the service of his majesty and the Company. On these occasions great attention is paid to precedence; and at one time matters assumed so formidable an aspect in this particular, that reference was made to George the Fourth, who decided that hereditary should be preferred to official rank. The influence which a governor or governor-general possesses over society is very great, more particularly as a by-law of the Company obliges all their servants to obtain his sanction and permission before entering into the state of matrimony.

The chase, from the variety of fierce and powerful animals with which the Indian jungles abound, and which are described by Mr Wilson under the head of Zoology, is rendered a noble and inspiriting occupation, in which the younger British officers take particular delight, though its fatigues beneath a burning sky often seriously injure their health. Hunting the fox, as in England, with hounds, the

natives take no interest in; but Englishmen carry all their diversions with them, go where they will. In the Peninsular campaigns, the army had its pack; so in every part of India the chase is pursued with all that ardour and contempt of danger so peculiar to our countrymen. Snipe-shooting also possesses many attractions; but being usually practised during the burning heat of noon, it can scarcely be indulged in without incurring the hazard of deep injury to the constitution.

The aspect of English society in India is splendid. The government-house at Calcutta is completely an eastern palace: Its two principal apartments are decorated with pillars covered with the cement called chunam, which makes them resemble Parian marble; they are considered by Mrs Graham the finest she ever saw. The quarter called Chouringee is described by Lord Valentia as a village of palaces, strangely contrasting with the Black Town, a huge assemblage of mud and thatched huts, similar to the poorest cabins of the Irish peasantry. The aspect of Calcutta, notwithstanding the difference of climate, strongly suggested to Heber what he had seen in Russia; "the size of the houses, their whiteness, and Palladian porticos, the loftiness of the rooms, and the scanty furniture, the unbounded hospitality, and apparent love of display,—all reminded me of Petersburgh and Moscow." In general the English have a taste for country-seats in the vicinity of the towns. Barrackpore in Bengal, the country-residence of the governor-general, is described as a delightful spot. English Madras is spread over a great extent of ground, the families having what are termed their garden-houses, usually

several miles distant from the native town and government-offices.

The social character of the English in India resembles that of their countrymen at home, modified by their peculiar situation. They are animated by an extremely hospitable and generous temper. Their easy circumstances enable them to indulge this disposition, which finds scope in the great number of British subjects who go out to seek a home in that distant land. Any gentleman provided with an introduction to a family is invited to take up his abode with them, and continues a welcome guest till he can at full leisure make his own arrangements. Lord Valentia assures us, that families left destitute by the death of their head have often, by the generosity of their acquaintances, been placed in a situation of comfort, and even of affluence, which their relation, had he lived, could not have secured to them. Since his time, however, funds established at the different presidencies provide liberally for widows and children, in a manner less painful to their feelings. The peculiar circumstances of Indian society give it a less varied character than that of Europe. Most of the residents go out very young, and they return before reaching an advanced age; so that old persons of either sex scarcely ever make part of an Indian company. On the other hand young ladies, whose presence contributes so much to the animation and polish of European society, appear only in very small numbers. These peculiarities, however, have diminished of late years, many families having sprung up who send their children to England for education; on completing which, the young men go out with civil or military ap-

pointments, and the young ladies to reside with their parents. The pride of country is said to prevail here still more decidedly than among Englishmen at home. It is true that the British can justly boast a great superiority of information, and still more of military talent, over all the oriental races; and this sentiment, though sometimes carried too far, has the effect of inspiring honourable feelings, and securing against temptations to mean or mercenary conduct.

There is another grade of Indian society who have excited a painful and increasing interest; the individuals, namely, who have sprung from European fathers by native mothers. Mr Ricketts supposes the number in Bengal to be 20,000, of whom 2000 are educated, and about 1000 employed as clerks and copyists. This class have been much at a loss for an appropriate appellation. The original one of *Half-caste*, derived from Hindoo ideas, is unjust and insulting, while that of *Eurasians* was affected and obscure. Sir John Malcolm uses *Anglo-Indians;* the Friend of India proposed *Indo-Britons;* but *East Indians*, though not very strictly appropriate, is that which they themselves have preferred. In several memorials lately addressed to the British parliament, they paint in strong colours the hardships of their situation,—enjoying the privileges neither of Europeans nor Indians; having the benefit neither of British nor Hindoo law; and excluded from offices of trust, to which even natives are admitted. Although these complaints seem to be somewhat exaggerated, and though they have the advantage over Englishmen in being able, in right of their mothers, to hold lands, it yet appears that, in respect to employments, they labour under considerable hardship. This jealous ex-

clusion is perhaps prompted by the fear lest, considering themselves only as natives of India, they may be disposed to erect an independent power in that country; though so severe a proscription is more likely than any thing else to realize that very apprehension. Lord Valentia considers the increase of this class as affording ground for serious alarm. The writer on the "Free Trade and Colonization of India" contends, on the contrary, that it is rapidly diminishing. He observes, that European ladies are now much more numerous in India, and are naturally viewed with preference by their own countrymen,—while East Indian girls are ambitious of forming connexions with gentlemen from Britain,—in which, if possessed of any attraction, they find little difficulty, and the offspring ranks as English. At present two journals in Calcutta are conducted by men of that lineage, who naturally advocate the interests of their class.

Connected with the state of British society in India is another subject which has justly excited the deepest interest at home. We have already surveyed the vast fabric which superstition has reared in that country, and within which the mind and social system of this great people are, as it were, imprisoned. Hence they are not only shut out from the light of truth, but debarred from many of the best means of developing their intellectual and moral powers. If this gloom could be illumined by the benignant light of Christianity, the most signal boon would undoubtedly be conferred on that extensive portion of the eastern world; yet the strongest prejudices were long felt in the highest quarter against any effort for promoting this object. The laudable

resolution against compulsory interference with the native religion, was combined with a fear that any attempts at persuasion, made by English teachers, would be looked upon as indicative of a disposition to employ more violent methods hereafter, and that an alarm thus excited among the influential classes would render the people hostile to British dominion. The Company, therefore, during a long period, did not support any ecclesiastical establishment, and even discouraged the residence of clergymen of any denomination, or with any object. Experience has now proved these apprehensions to be unfounded. The natives, after witnessing the settlement of a body of established ministers, and the most active missionary exertions, have remained satisfied with the ample toleration secured by the government. They have even formed a better opinion of their conquerors, since they have discovered that they are not, as was supposed, destitute of all religion, but have, like themselves, a form of worship, and even Shastras, or sacred books, in which it is contained.

The intelligence and zeal displayed by the missionaries in the East are such as reflect honour upon human nature. The first place must undoubtedly be yielded to those of the Baptist persuasion, whose learned labours in the prosecution of their pious undertaking have excited the general admiration of Europe. Their important mission arose from very small beginnings. In October 1792, a few Baptist ministers met at Kettering in Northamptonshire, and resolved to form a society for the propagation of the gospel; subscribing a sum which, in the first instance, fell short of fourteen pounds. When the object, however, became known, it met

with extensive approbation, and contributions were received on a scale so liberal, as to enable the Society to engage two gentlemen as missionaries. The choice, by peculiarly good fortune, fell upon Messrs Thomas and Carey. The former had made several voyages to Bengal as a surgeon, in the course of which he became known to Mr Charles Grant, who afterwards acquired great influence in Indian affairs, and who, duly appreciating his character, exhorted him to devote himself to the task of converting the Hindoos. After considerable hesitation he resolved to follow this course, and entered with the utmost alacrity into the views of the Society. His colleague, Mr Carey of Leicester, had long felt a deep zeal for the conversion of the heathen, which he manifested both in his conversation and discourses: he was actuated also by an ardent desire of geographical knowledge, and possessed a great facility in acquiring languages; so that he was pointed out as unusually well qualified for this arduous destination. He and Mr Thomas, on being introduced for the first time as colleagues in this philanthropic design, could not refrain from shedding tears.

The missionaries arrived in Bengal about the end of 1793. They were at first considerably discouraged by the difficulties which beset their path, particularly in respect to pecuniary resources. In 1794, however, they were engaged to superintend two indigo manufactories, farmed by a Mr Udny near Maulda, which at once afforded funds, a point of contact with the natives, and the means of giving employment to the converts. They laboured several years with much zeal but slender success, when, in 1799, Messrs Marshman, Ward, Brunsdon, and

Grant, entered the Hoogley in an American vessel. Finding some obstacles to landing at Calcutta, they took up their residence at Serampore, where their two predecessors were induced to join them; and the mission assumed that form under which it has since proved so effective. They entered into an agreement to throw all their funds, public and private, into a general stock, to keep a simple table in common, and, after a moderate allowance for other domestic purposes, to devote the surplus to the great objects of their undertaking. Mr Carey, who had now acquired an extensive knowledge of the Indian languages, was chiefly instrumental in making the translations; while Mr Ward, who had been bred a printer, superintended the founts of types, which were cut by a native family. The first fruit of their labours was the publication, in February 1801, of the New Testament in Bengalee. The high acquirements of Mr Carey being now fully recognised, he was appointed by Marquis Wellesley professor of that language and Sanscrit in the college of Fort William, with a salary of £1500 a-year, which, notwithstanding the occupation of his time, afforded valuable means of extending his usefulness.

The associates now prosecuted their task of translation with the utmost activity. In 1806, they issued proposals for publishing the Sacred Scriptures in fifteen of the principal Oriental languages; and they have since been indefatigably employed in redeeming this great pledge. To say nothing of their grammars, dictionaries, and other literary works, it appears by the most recent accounts, that the entire Bible has been printed, and copies circulated, in the Sanscrit, Bengalee, Hindee, Mahratta, and Orissa.

The New Testament, by itself, has been printed, and copies circulated in the following twenty-four dialects spoken in India, viz.:—Nepalee, Palpa, Kemaoon, Serinagur, Jumboo, Cashmere, Magadha, Kanouge, Brij-Bhaka, Pushtoo, Seik, Batneir, Bikaneer, Moultanee, Marwar, Guzeratee, Ougeinee, Harotee, Bhugulkhund, Telinga, Carnata, Kunkun, Cossyah, and Munipoora. Besides these, versions of the Old Testament in Pushtoo, Cashmere, and Orissa, are now in the press. The population, to whom these Indian languages are vernacular, amounts to more than one hundred millions.

Besides Serampore, there are now native churches or stations, with preachers and schools, at Dum-dum, Barrepore, Jessore, Burisahl, Dacca, Chittagong, Dinagepore, and Saddamahl, in Bengal; at Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Delhi, in Indostan Proper.

The London Missionary Society, founded on a great scale in 1795, directed their attention first to the islands of the South Sea, and afterwards to Southern Africa. In 1804, however, they despatched three missionaries to India, two of whom went to Vizagapatan in the Northern Circars, the other to the southern district of Tinnevelly. They have since extended their operations to various other parts of the empire. In 1816, they founded an establishment at Calcutta, where for some years they met with very little success; but having in 1823 formed a settlement at Kidderpore in the vicinity of the capital, they saw themselves in the centre of a circle of villages, which showed a much greater disposition to embrace the gospel than had appeared in any other district. In 1826, an idol was removed from a Hindoo temple, and the building converted into a place of

Christian worship. The Society have even succeeded in forming a small native church in Calcutta.

The Church Missionary Society, instituted in 1800, directed their first exertions to the civilisation of Africa, and particularly to the settlement at Sierra Leone. It was not till about 1812 that they began to employ agents in Calcutta and Madras. These establishments have since been very greatly enlarged, so as to render this one of the chief theatres of their pious exertions. They have particularly sought to promote their object by the erection of schools, in which a communication of the superior knowledge possessed by Europeans accompanies, or prepares for initiation into sound religious views. This Society have now stations, with catechists and native assistants, at Calcutta, Dum-dum, Culna, and Burdwan (large towns in the west of Bengal), Buxar, Benares, Allahabad, Gooracpore, Cawnpore, Bareilly, Agra, Meerut, Canoul. In Western India they have one at Bandora, seven miles from Bombay; in the south, at Tellicherry, Cochin, Cottayam, and Allepie (about thirty miles south-east of Cochin), Palamcotta, Mayaveram (160 miles south-south-west of Madras), Madras, and Pulicate.

The Scottish Missionary Society have some stations at Bombay. A fund has also been recently established under the superintendence of the Church of Scotland, for the promotion of this important object. The managers have sent out several missionaries to Calcutta, and founded schools there.

The result produced by the missions under these different societies in the various parts of India is extremely similar. The natives have every where become secure from the apprehension of any violent

attempt to overturn their religious belief and observances. This confidence, instead of being shaken, seems confirmed by the presence and activity of the missionaries, when they see government at the same time maintaining the strictest neutrality. They have even overcome all fear arising from the intercourse of foreigners with themselves or their families. They are fond of meeting and entering into argument with them; they send their children to their schools, and even allow them to be catechised and instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. Yet with all this, the examples of conversion are so extremely few, that in a national sense they may be considered as nothing. Omitting all consideration of the manner in which the Hindoo religion is interwoven with the habits of life, with the splendour of its festivals and the zeal of its votaries, the single institution of caste opposes a most formidable obstacle, though one which is sensibly diminishing, through the continued communication with the English, and particularly the missionaries. The circumstance, too, that every particular of the creed and worship is contained in voluminous writings, all believed to be of Divine origin, renders it almost impossible to make any impression. However unable they may be to defend any of their dogmas, the simple remark at the close of the conference, that "It is in the Shastras or the Vedas," banishes every impression of doubt. These facts continue to inspire the Hindoos with a great confidence on the subject of conversion. They imagine that they can with perfect safety amuse themselves with disputation, and send their children to the schools with a view to their improvement or worldly advantage. Nor do they scruple to appear in the cha-

racter of what is called inquirers, and amuse their instructors with deceptive hopes of their embracing Christianity. We incline, however, to think with Mr Deerr, that this confidence may be in a great measure unfounded. Moral revolutions among every people, even after long and apparently ineffectual exertions to produce it, in general break forth suddenly at last. The Crusades, the Reformation, the French Revolution, the greatest changes of modern times, are all illustrations of this remark. That there is such a silent preparation in the Indian mind appears evident from the prevalence, among a numerous and influential class, of English habits and ideas, and the growing disposition to form themselves upon a European model.

Although the British government wisely and rigidly abstain from all interference with the religious tenets or observances of their Indian subjects, a different course has been pursued wherever these involve a violation of the first principles of moral obligation. Such, in many instances, is the case with the dark code of superstition which holds sway among them; its unhappy votaries being taught, that to destroy their own life, or the life of those dearest to them, is the path to divine favour and immortal felicity. Nearly thirty years ago, the Marquis Wellesley issued an ordinance prohibiting the sacrifice by parents of their infant offspring to the Ganges; and, contrary to what was by many expected and predicted, this step was not only acquiesced in, but warmly applauded by a number of the natives. The *suttee*, or the burning of widows on the funeral-pile of their husbands, was a practice held so sacred, and so deeply rooted in all the feelings of the Hindoos,

that it was long considered hazardous to touch it. Yet the Company, in compliance with the strongly-expressed opinion of many pious and enlightened persons at home, at length authorized Lord William Bentinck to issue an order for its discontinuance. The appearance of this document produced a very strong sensation in India, and strikingly displayed the different views of the two classes into which its population is now divided. An address was presented from a body of Hindoos, respectable by their numbers, and still more by their wealth and intelligence, highly applauding the measure, and declaring that the practice thereby prohibited formed no essential part of their system. But a number of individuals at Calcutta, earnestly devoted to the ancient system, have formed themselves into a society, called the Dharma Subha, for the purpose of procuring the restoration of this sacred rite, which they say has been continued for millions of years under the successive eras of the satya, treta, dwapar, and cali yugs. They have organized themselves on the model of the religious societies in England, with a president, secretary, subscription-papers, and corresponding branches; and, having called upon every holy Hindoo to contribute his mite to the pious work, have raised considerable sums to promote the objects of the institution, while they have renounced all social intercourse with those of their countrymen who follow an opposite course. The other party, however, who are called the Brama Subha, considering the Shastras in their favour, treat these violent proceedings with indifference, and continue steadily to support the humane views of the British government.

Another arrangement with regard to the native re-

ligion has been reasonably called in question. With whatever pain the worship paid in the idol temples may be viewed, government, on the principles of toleration, are bound to leave it unmolested. But they go farther; they levy a tax from each pilgrim, and receive the offerings presented on the altar. Out of these they keep the temple in repair, and also pay salaries to the requisite number of officiating priests and Bramins: the balance, it appears, goes into their own exchequer. Mr Poynder, in a speech at the India House, charged the Company with having in seventeen years drawn a million sterling from the four principal temples of Juggernaut, Allahabad, Gaya, and Tripetty. Dr Short, on the other hand, maintains that the raising of this tax is a measure which will ultimately prove hostile to idolatry; while Mr Poynder rejoins, that were it not for the sanction thus afforded by the Company, and the excellent order in which the temples are kept, there would be a rapid decline of the whole system. Considerable doubt hangs on this question; but we cannot hesitate to express our opinion, that the directors ought to keep themselves pure from every transaction of this nature, and to throw the idol temples altogether into the hands of their blinded votaries.

CHAPTER X.

Industry and Commerce of India.

Prevalent Ideas of Indian Wealth—In a great degree Fallacious—State of Agriculture—Poverty of the Cultivator—Rice—Cotton—Opium—Silk—Sugar—Tobacco—Indigo—Pepper—Manufactures of Cotton—Silk—Working in Gold, &c.—Decline of Manufactures—Commerce—Commodities—Mode of conducting the Trade—The Company—Effects of Free Trade—Tables of Exports and Imports.

EXTRAVAGANT ideas respecting the wealth of India and its people long prevailed in the Western World. The pomp which surrounded its sovereigns, the precious commodities furnished by its commerce, gave the idea of a country in which the most profuse abundance reigned. A more extensive acquaintance has proved this impression to be extremely fallacious; the opulence being confined to the princes and high officers, or to a few merchants and monied men in the great cities. The labouring class, by whom the splendid wares are produced, are sunk in the deepest poverty. An intelligent writer, in the Friend of India, believes that the rent generally paid by the ryot in the rich province of Bengal does not amount to 40 rupees annually. Sir Thomas Munro states the same sum as the average payment of that district in the Carnatic which he minutely surveyed, and is of opinion that there was not a single culti-

vator worth £500. As the rent in India exceeds a third of the gross produce, a farm can yield only a very small income; which, however, enables the tenants to keep over their heads a house that can be built in three days of mud, straw, and leaves, to eat daily a few handfuls of rice, and to wrap themselves in a coarse cotton robe. Their situation may be considered as ranking below that of the Irish peasantry. The implements of agriculture also are of the most defective and imperfect form. The name of plough can scarcely be applied to the instrument which is used for stirring the soil. It has neither coulter nor mould-board; the handle communicates little power of directing it; and the share does not penetrate the ground beyond three inches. The business of the harrow is performed by an instrument like a ladder, on which the husbandman stands, while rough bushes attached to it assist in covering the seed. The rotation of crops is a principle unknown in India; every thing possible is drawn from the ground till it is completely exhausted, when it must be recruited, not by a regular fallow, but by being left for some time unoccupied. Manure is scarcely at all employed; indeed that of the cow being accounted holy, and largely applied to sacred purposes, is far too valuable to be spread upon land. There are, however, as is observed by Professor Jameson, some soils in India so very fertile that they continue to bear crops without intermission. The wealth of the farmer consists almost wholly in his bullocks; and according to the number he can rear or purchase is the extent of ground which he cultivates. The only means of fertility on which art or toil is employed to any great extent

is irrigation, which, indeed, in a tropical climate, is of all others the most essential. In addition to the supply furnished by the great rivers, princes and wealthy individuals, influenced by public spirit, form tanks, ponds, or reservoirs, for the general advantage; and wooden troughs or buckets are employed in raising the water into channels, by which it is conveyed over the adjoining fields. The periodical rains constitute the chief source of production in India, and their partial or total failure occasions the most desolating famines. During the dreadful one which afflicted Bengal in 1770, several millions of the natives are supposed to have perished.

The situation of the Hindoo ryot is still farther depressed by the load of debt with which he is usually burdened. Even his slender means are found to tempt the avidity of the muhajuns or money-lenders, who enrich themselves by charging an interest of 36 per cent. on a number of small loans. Nay, it is said, in eight cases out of ten, at the beginning of the season, both the seed and his own subsistence are advanced to him till the period of harvest; consequently when the crop is reaped, it does not belong to the cultivator, but is seized by these usurers, whose exactions, with those of the zemindar, would soon crush him altogether, were it not necessary for their own interest to stop short of his entire ruin.

It has been already observed, that the penury of the agricultural classes is less conspicuous in Guzerat, which both Mr Forbes and Mr Elphinstone describe as the most flourishing province of India. It seems to owe this advantage to its great fertility, joined to its retired and insular situation, which pre-

served it both from a thorough subjection to Mogul despotism, and from the ravages of the Mahratta invaders.

Rice is in India the staff of life, being used to a greater extent than any grain in Europe. It is, in fact, the food of the highest and the lowest,—the principal harvest of every climate. Its production, generally speaking, is only limited by the means of irrigation, which is essential to its growth. The ground is prepared in March and April; the seed is sown in May and reaped in August. If circumstances are favourable there are other harvests, one between July and November, another between January and April. These also sometimes consist of rice; but more commonly of other grain, pulse, or cotton. In Guzerat some species of *holcus* are raised to a considerable extent.

Cotton, as constituting the material of the principal manufacture of India, ranks next in importance to its staple grain. Yet its quality, by no means corresponding to its great importance, is decidedly inferior to that of North America and Brazil. It is described as a different species from the produce of the United States; being an annual plant, while the other endures for ten or twelve years. The English dealers undervalue it as short-stapled and dirty; for which reason they use it only in "very low cloth," or to mix in small portions with that of a better description. It usually brings about two-thirds of the price of ordinary, and one-third of the best American cotton. An ardent desire to improve this valuable shrub seems now to be generally entertained, and neither the climate nor soil presents any obstacles to its being carried to the highest perfection.

Opium, the use of which, both as a luxury and a medicine, has become very extensive, is produced almost exclusively in the central provinces of India, and forms one of the most important articles of its commerce. It is cultivated largely in the provinces of Bahar and Benares, where government monopolize the trade in it; purchasing the crop before it is raised from the necessitous ryots, at the price of one rupee and a half per pound, to be resold at a great advance. The opium of Malwa, however, is of a superior quality, and the Company had made great exertions to procure the whole of it by treaty with the native powers, and to prevent any part from reaching the western ports by the way of Rajpootana. By much the largest proportion now comes from this province. Between 1821 and 1827, the opium exported to China from Patna and Benares had fallen from 2910 to 2723 chests; while that from Malwa had risen from 1718 to 5630 chests. In 1830, the Company renounced the practice of purchasing opium in Malwa, and agreed, on a certain consideration, to grant passes to individuals, who might procure and convey it to Bombay.

Silk is another valuable article in the Indian trade. It is produced largely in Bengal; to a much smaller extent in the upper provinces; and scarcely at all in the Deccan. This rich material, originally confined to the East, has been introduced into Europe, and so much improved, that the Italian silk is now decidedly superior to the Chinese; while that of India, which is comparatively weak and wants staple, is less valued than either. Respecting the possibility of improving it, opinions greatly differ. Mr Ramsay attributes its defects to the heat

of the climate, and therefore conceives that they cannot be obviated. Worms have been imported from Italy, but have gradually degenerated. Mr Stephen Wilson, on the contrary, is of opinion that the inferiority is principally owing to less skilful management, and that the process, being carried on under cover, cannot be materially affected by the state of the atmosphere. Much is owing, he thinks, to the great superiority of the Italian cocoons. There are four harvests of silk, of which the two principal are in November and January. The employment is much subdivided; one person rears the mulberries; another breeds the worms; a third winds off the silk. Like opium, it is produced upon advances made by the Company, who in that case require all the article to be delivered to them, which, it is alleged, however, is not always faithfully done. In other respects there is no monopoly; but Mr Ramsay states, that private individuals have found the trade disadvantageous, and that the Company even carry it on with loss.

Sugar is extensively raised and consumed, being the chief ingredient of the sweetmeats, which form a most valued luxury. The cane, however, is considerably inferior in strength to that of the West Indies. The species produced in Guzerat, a province so fertile, is, according to Mr Forbes, only converted into a coarse kind of molasses. In addition to this, the duty levied in Britain is higher than on that produced in the West; a restriction claimed as due to the depressed state of the sugar islands, but which prevents the cultivation in India from being extended beyond the bounds of internal consumption. It is maintained, however, by many

intelligent persons, that if European skill, capital, and machinery, were applied to the production of this article, and if it were admitted on terms of equality, India could easily supply the whole British empire.

Tobacco was not originally raised in India. As soon, however, as the Europeans, who had found it in America, introduced it into the East, the singular fascination which this leaf possesses rendered it an object of research among the inhabitants. It came into general use; and, being well fitted to the soil, was cultivated in every quarter to the full extent of the demand in the native provinces, though without having ever become an article of exportation to Europe.

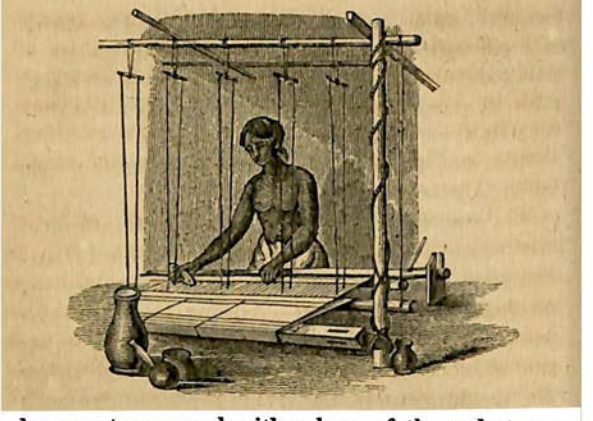
But the product which in a commercial view has now taken the lead of every other, is one that has been raised to its present height entirely by European skill and capital; this is *indigo*, which, from its value as a dye, commands a sure sale in all the nations of Europe. Although, as the name implies, it was originally an Indian commodity, the supply, for several centuries after the discovery of America, was drawn almost wholly from that continent. Within the last thirty years a number of enterprising individuals have extended its culture in Bengal, and upwards along the alluvial tracts bordering on the Ganges. It is carried on through the medium of the ryots, who are induced to engage in it by the assurance of a market, and in almost every instance by advances upon the crops. Some individuals have 6000 or 7000 cultivators constantly engaged in supplying them with this vegetable. The crop is precarious; but the average pro-

duce of Bengal is estimated at nine millions of pounds, while upwards of 400,000 pounds are derived from Madras. The planters laboured at first under great inconvenience from the operation of a law, which prohibits all but natives from holding land even under a zemindary tenure; being thus obliged to occupy it under the name of Hindoos, upon whom they became in a great degree dependent. Of late, however, they have been allowed, for this and other purposes, to possess farms on very long leases. At first they took from the cultivators the juice of the plant, called *fœcula;* but the Hindoos were found to conduct even the process of extraction in so slovenly a manner, that the substance could never be thoroughly purified so as to form the best indigo. It has become customary, therefore, to receive the plants, and have the whole process performed by Europeans. Mr Ramsay represents the condition of the ryots in some districts as much deteriorated by being employed in this manner; but it is not easy to perceive how such an effect can be the result of so prosperous a branch of production. Mr Harris and Mr Crawford assert, that the Bengal husbandmen engaged in it are in decidedly better circumstances than their brethren, and the latter gentleman states that the lands have doubled or trebled in value.

Pepper is likewise an important object of Indian agriculture. This spice, for which there is such a general demand, is raised amid the wooded hills of Malabar and Canara. Munro describes the pepper-gardens as formed in the deepest glens, shaded by mountains and dense forests, and as appearing only like specks in the wilderness by which they are sur-

rounded. The pepper of Malabar is considered superior to that of Sumatra, as well as of all the other islands. It is exported in the two states of black and white, a distinction which arises from the different modes in which they are prepared.

India has been celebrated not only for the rich products of her soil,—her manufactures also have enjoyed a high reputation from the earliest antiquity. This branch of national industry, as Lord Lauderdale has ingeniously shown, is materially influenced by the wants of the several classes into which society is divided. India contains a great number of inhabitants that are extremely poor, and a few who are immensely rich. To meet the demands thus created, she produces on the one hand a great mass of coarse fabrics, and on the other, a small quantity that is exquisitely fine. To exhibit themselves in splendid robes is a favourite object of Oriental luxury: accordingly, the labours of the loom had reached a perfection to which those of no other country except Britain, and that very recently, made even an approach. The delicate and flexible form of the Hindoo, the pliancy of his fingers, and the exquisite sense with which they are endowed, even his quiet indefatigable perseverance, all render him peculiarly fitted for this description of employment. The muslins of Dacca in fineness, the calicoes and other piece goods of Coromandel in brilliant and durable colours, have never been surpassed. Yet they are produced without capital, machinery, division of labour, or any of those means which give such facilities to the manufacturing interest of Europe. The weaver is merely a detached individual, working a web when ordered



by a customer, and with a loom of the rudest construction,—consisting sometimes of a few branches or bars of wood roughly put together. There is even no expedient for rolling up the warp; the loom must therefore be kept stretched to its full length, and becomes so inconveniently large, that it cannot be contained within the hut of the manufacturer, who is therefore compelled to ply his trade in the open air, where it is interrupted by every vicissitude of the weather. That, in an art which such pains have been taken to carry to the highest perfection, no attempt should have been made to improve the machinery, and to remedy the most obvious inconveniencies, is a striking example of that blind adherence to ancient usage, which forms so prominent a feature in the Hindoo character.

The silk manufacture is also of great antiquity in India, and carried to considerable perfection, though not nearly equal to that of cotton. Bandannoes and other handkerchiefs, crapes, and taffeties, are the

forms in which it is chiefly produced. The shawls of Cashmere, made from the wool of a species of goat, constitute an exquisite fabric, which bears a high price in every quarter of the world; but it belongs only half to India, being worked on its northern border, and consisting of a material entirely furnished by Tartary and Thibet.

The use of gold, silver, and precious stones, forms another object of Indian ostentation. To her princes and great men no present is so acceptable; and hence no expense is spared in obtaining them. Besides being the instruments of his pomp, they serve as a convenient means for hoarding up wealth; his jewels are an important part of every prince's treasure, and are regarded as public property. There arises thus a demand for ingenious workmen in gold and silver, as well as for such as excel in the cutting, polishing, and setting of precious stones; and all these operations are performed with superior skill. Yet here, too, the instruments are extremely rude and defective. The ground is the workman's bench; his hands and feet the vice, and his tools only some misshapen pieces of iron. He carries on his trade in an ambulatory manner, waiting till he is sent for by a customer; when, packing up his little set of implements, he hastily obeys the summons.

The demand for the finer manufactures of Indostan has within the last fifty years greatly diminished. All branches of industry have been deeply affected by the fall of so many great sovereigns and splendid courts, where alone remunerating prices could be obtained. The astonishing success with which they have been imitated by several nations of Europe, and particularly by Britain, has also very

much reduced the quantity brought into this part of the world, and made them be regarded as little more than objects of curiosity. Nor is this all. The fabrics of Manchester, of Glasgow, and of Paisley, by the superior cheapness which they combine with their excellence, have superseded on their native soil the finest which India can produce. The only cloths that now meet a sure sale are those coarse cotton robes woven in almost every village for the use of the great body of the people.

The commerce of India, prior at least to the opening of that with Mexico and Peru, was considered the most copious source of wealth of any in the world. This impression, for reasons already hinted, was in some degree illusory; yet India always produced commodities of great value and beauty; and though the demand has somewhat diminished, in consequence of the improved state of manufactures in this country, an annual value amounting to more than five millions sterling, conveyed nearly 15,000 miles, marks it still as one of the most important objects of British enterprise. Cotton piece goods, muslins, calicoes, though in a smaller degree than formerly, are still extensively exported. Silk manufactures and Cashmere shawls are only introduced in limited quantities. Opium, pepper, and indigo, are articles in general use over the world, which are chiefly drawn from India. Thrown silk and cotton-wool, though of secondary quality, make their way, by dint of cheapness, in the British market. Sugar, saltpetre, borax from Thibet, and various minor articles, form an addition to the cargoes of our Indian ships. The European returns have always been an object of considerable difficulty. The Orientals, ge-

nerally speaking, have shown very little taste for the productions of the West, and were wont to require that by far the greater part of their commodities should be paid for in gold and silver. This was a circumstance deeply afflicting to the commercial speculators of the old school, who measured the wealth of every country solely by the abundance of the precious metals which it possessed, and looked upon the relinquishment of these as the most ruinous of all transactions. This was a chimerical distress, the grounds of which are now almost entirely removed. The Company, by means of their territorial revenues, and of the remittances from their servants to England, are enabled to supply the pecuniary part of their investments with very little export of bullion; while the private merchants have obtained nearly the same result, by the great quantity of European manufactures which they have succeeded in introducing. Formerly woollens were the only British fabric that could find a market, and the Company even boasted that they sent out these solely on a patriotic principle, and with loss to themselves. At present numerous articles are sold, not excepting cotton, the staple commodity of India herself, which in 1829 was exported to the extent of above a million and a half sterling.

The following is a statement presented to Parliament, showing the proportion of merchandise and bullion in rupees, imported to and exported from India by the Company and private traders, for the years 1827-8 and 1828-9:—

	IMPORTS TO INDIA.			
	By the East India Company.		By Individuals.	
	Merchandise.	Treasure.	Merchandise.	Treasure.
1827-8	3,48,312	. . .	2,94,19,745	81,660
1828-9	1,51,916	2,46,414	3,31,97,100	26,843
	5,00,228	2,46,414	6,26,16,845	1,08,503
	EXPORTS FROM INDIA.			
1827-8	1,75,37,150	34,58,720	2,08,80,224	49,48,050
1828-9	1,41,26,165	. . .	2,20,94,580	33,65,238
	3,16,63,315	34,58,720	4,29,74,804	83,13,288

The mode in which the commerce of India is carried on is a subject of deep importance, and has given rise to very warm discussions. We have seen this trade from its first establishment uniformly conducted by exclusive companies, the only interruptions being caused by the occasional opposition of rival bodies. The mercantile public, notwithstanding loud and repeated remonstrances, were never admitted to any share, till, on the renewal of the charter in 1793, it was stipulated that the Company should set apart 3000 tons of shipping for the accommodation of private traders; but this boon was found to be quite nugatory. In 1813, therefore, when another renewal of the charter was required, the principles of free trade, which had been gaining ground, and the immense British capital for which employment was required, produced an impulse too strong to be resisted. The Company were indeed allowed to retain the monopoly of the China trade, which alone yields them any profit, but were obliged to consent that the traffic with India should be thrown open under certain restrictions. These limitations were, that it should be conducted only under license from

the directors, in vessels of not less than 350 tons burden, and the homeward cargo brought only into certain towns where sufficient warehouses and docks had been provided. The ships of private merchants were also restricted to the leading ports of India,—Calcutta, Madras, Bombay,—though the Company might grant licenses for any intermediate one, and were expected not to refuse without some special reason; while their decision could be reversed by the Board of Control. The limitation as to tonnage was taken off in 1823, and a license was no longer required for the principal settlements; but the other restrictions were continued. The Company likewise retain, as rulers, the power of preventing any person from taking up his residence in India, or even proceeding into the interior more than ten miles from the capitals of the three Presidencies, without special license. This costs from seven to fifteen guineas, with securities to a considerable amount that the individual shall not become chargeable to the local government.

Under this arrangement British merchants have engaged with characteristic enterprise in the Indian trade, and carried it to a most remarkable extent. They may now be said to have driven the privileged body entirely out of the field. The following table exhibits the imports and exports by the respective parties for each year since the trade was thrown open:—

	Value of Imports into Great Britain from all places eastward of the Cape of Good Hope (except China), according to the prices at the East India Company's Sales in the respective years.			Value of Exports from Great Britain to all places eastward of the Cape of Good Hope (except China), according to the declarations of the Exporters.		
Years.	By the East India Company.	Private Trade.	Total Imports.	By the East India Company	Private Trade.	Total Exports.
	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.
1814	4,208,079	4,435,196	8,643,275	826,558	1,048,132	1,874,690
1815	3,016,556	5,119,611	8,136,167	996,248	1,569,513	2,565,761
1816	2,027,703	4,402,082	6,429,785	633,546	1,955,909	2,589,455
1817	2,325,650	4,541,956	6,865,586	638,382	2,750,333	3,388,715
1818	2,505,003	6,901,144	9,406,147	553,585	3,018,779	3,572,164
1819	1,932,401	4,685,367	6,615,768	760,508	1,586,575	2,347,083
1820	1,757,157	4,201,389	5,958,526	971,096	2,066,815	3,037,911
1821	1,743,733	3,031,413	4,775,146	887,619	2,656,776	3,544,395
1822	1,092,529	2,621,534	3,713,663	606,089	2,838,354	3,444,443
1823	1,587,078	4,344,973	5,932,051	458,550	2,957,705	3,416,255
1824	1,194,753	4,410,347	5,605,100	654,783	2,841,795	3,496,578
1825	1,462,692	4,716,083	6,178,775	598,555	2,574,660	3,173,215
1826	1,520,060	5,210,866	6,730,926	990,964	2,480,588	3,471,552
1827	1,612,480	4,068,537	5,681,017	805,610	3,830,580	4,636,190
1828	1,950,107	5,135,073	7,085,180	488,601	3,979,072	4,467,673
1829	1,595,442	4,624,842	6,218,284	434,586	3,665,678	4,100,264

Even this limited amount appears to be preserved by the Company only by submitting to extensive loss. The following is the result of their transactions for the year 1829-30, as reported to Parliament.

	Imports.	Exports.
Prime Cost of Goods,.....	£1,512,506	£135,530
Freight, &c.....	103,050	.....
Charges,.....	57,592	5,419
	£1,673,148	£140,949
Sale amount,.....	1,151,856	74,550
Loss on Imports,.....	£521,292	£66,399
——— Exports,.....	66,399	
Total Loss,.....	£587,691	

It is stated by Mr Gordon, that freight, which in the Company's service amounted in 1814 to £25, and sometimes as high as 50 guineas per ton, has been reduced in consequence of competition to 30s. and even 15s. per ton. From the same cause the price of

Indian goods has also been greatly lowered. Cotton has fallen from 1s. 3d. to 5d., pepper from 1s. or 1s. 3d. to 3d. a-pound. The advocates of the Company indeed allege, that these things have been achieved by the private merchants at the price of their own ruin; and that the sales have been forced by glutting the markets to such a degree, as has obliged the holders to sell often much under prime cost. This, no doubt, has been the case to a considerable extent; but it is alleged on the other side, that the tendency to overtrade is inevitably prompted by British enterprise in every branch, especially one newly opened; and that the extremely low prices have introduced the articles into consumption among the natives, who are now willing to pay a more adequate value.

The period for which the charter was last renewed being now about to expire, the conditions and extent to which such privileges will be prolonged are the subject of some anxiety. The leading question is that respecting the China trade, of which the Company still retain the exclusive possession, and gain from it about as much as they lose on that with India; but this point does not belong to our present subject. In regard to Indostan, the main points for consideration are, whether private merchants shall be allowed to proceed to the smaller ports or into the interior without license; and whether individuals shall be permitted to establish a permanent residence, and to hold lands in India. On the one hand it is urged, that such arrangements would expose the natives to much oppression from persons over whom the Company would have no sufficient control; that it would thus alienate them from British government, and might give rise to disturb-

ance and even rebellion. In reply, it is represented, that the merchants could assort their cargoes with much greater advantage, and enjoy far more ample means of introducing European commodities, by proceeding in person into the interior instead of employing native agents often of doubtful fidelity; that the investment of British skill and capital in the internal branches of industry would not only yield large profits, but would afford new materials for commerce, and improve the condition of the labouring population; all which effects have been found to flow from the introduction of the indigo culture. The idea that industrious individuals employed in peaceable pursuits would oppress the natives, or give rise to disturbances, is described as chimerical. It appears that even a party among the more intelligent of the Hindoos think the country would be benefited by the application of British capital to its internal improvement. Such is the opinion given by Rammohun Roy in his recent evidence before Parliament; though he deprecates the introduction of labourers from Britain.

The following table exhibits a view of the various articles of export and import in the trade to India for the year 1829, the latest period to which they have been published. The private trade and that of the Company are distinguished as to each commodity. In regard to the imports the quantities are given, as the value is not exhibited in the official report.

EXPORTS.	Company.	Private.
	L.	£.
Apothecary Wares,	11,520	10,923
Apparel,	2,944	23,609
Beer and Ale,	195	95,671
Books,	3,812	30,481
Brass,	748	5,259
Cabinet and Upholstery Wares,	8	4,184
Carriages,	. . .	19,178
Coals,	1,214	645
Cochineal,	. . .	19,054
Colours,	2,666	14,617
Copper, Unwrought,	36,843	160,419
—— Wrought,	24,777	181,319
Cordage,	4,785	4,852
Cotton Manufactures.		
Calicoes, Plain,	29	745,983
—— Printed,	50	427,161
Muslins, Plain,	. . .	259,885
—— Printed,	. . .	5,456
Hosiery, &c.	48	56,812
Twist,	1	200,551
Foreign,	. . .	2,600
Earthenware,	218	22,431
Glass,	4,245	98,302
Guns and Pistols,	44,815	6,298
Haberdashery, &c.	121	30,187
Hardwares and Cutlery,	15,847	67,704
Hats,	2,702	10,689
Iron, Bar,	9,846	89,185
—— Cast & Wrought,	26,159	70,628
Lace, and Gold and Silver Thread,	194	5,613
Lead and Shot,	1,188	18,752
Leather and Saddlery,	4,824	28,620
Linens,	8,522	21,758
Machinery and Mill-Work,	11,355	57,365
Military Stores,	31,623	41
Musical Instruments,	3,411	15,970
Opium,	. . .	11,308
Ordnance,	4,215	. . .
Plate, Jewellery, &c.	150	54,083
Provisions,	17,441	22,108
Quicksilver,	. . .	18,573
Silk Manufactures,	78	9,653
Soap and Candles,	1,290	2,628
Spelter,	. . .	46,678
Spirits, British,	6	2,867
—— Foreign,	52	25,369
Stationery,	40,442	39,923
Steel, Unwrought,	224	11,904
Sugar, Refined,	144	2,454
Swords,	1,754	188
Tin, Unwrought,	. . .	10
Tin and Pewter Wares,	985	10,389
Wines,	1,531	161,363
Woollens, British,	80,934	291,563
—— Foreign,	. . .	1,389
All other articles,	30,886	187,099
Total value of exports, L.	454,586	3,665,678

IMPORTS.		Company.	Private.
Aloes,	*lbs.*	. . .	30,773
Assafœtida,	—	. . .	25,497
Benjamin,	—	. . .	19,297
Borax,	—	. . .	153,271
Camphire,	—	. . .	538,479
Canes,	*no.*	. . .	7,269,611
Cardamoms,	*lbs.*	. . .	31,948
Cassia Buds,	—	. . .	85,944
Cassia Lignea,	—	. . .	814,586
Cinnamon,	—	. . .	545,353
Cloves,	—	. . .	36,061
Coffee,	—	. . .	6,535,257
Cotton Piece Goods.			
White Calicoes and Muslins,	*pieces*	289,234	1,381
Dyed Cottons, &c.	—	77,522	101,093
Nanquin Cloths,	—	. . .	776,468
Cotton Wool,	*lbs.*	1,050,690	23,873,720
Dye and Hard woods.			
Ebony,	*tons.*	. . .	418
Red Saunders,	—	. . .	150
Elephants' Teeth,	*cwts.*	. . .	1,291
Galls,	—	. . .	753
Ginger,	—	813	4,104
Gum Animi and Copal,	*lbs.*	. . .	234,908
—— Arabic,	*cwts.*	. . .	3,746
—— Lac,	*lbs.*	. . .	590,721
—— Shellac and Seed-lac,	—	12,186	713,594
Hemp, &c.	*cwts.*	. . .	26,450
Hides,	—	. . .	3,603
Indigo,	*lbs.*	806,585	5,175,671
Mace, &c.	—	. . .	6,836
Madder,	*cwts.*	. . .	2,153
Mother-of-pearl,	*lbs.*	. . .	484,107
Musk,	*ounces*	. . .	449
Nutmegs,	*lbs.*	. . .	37,022
Oil, Castor,	—	. . .	301,488
—— Cocoa-nut,	*cwts.*	. . .	3,247
—— Mace,	*lbs.*	. . .	219
Olibanum,	*cwts.*	. . .	4,675
Pepper,	*lbs.*	17,698	1,088,881
Rhubarb,	—	. . .	127,443
Rice not in husk,	*cwts.*	1,967	196,509
—— in husk,	*bushels*	. . .	61,833
Safflower,	*cwts.*	. . .	2,083
Sago,	—	. . .	446
Saltpetre,	—	61,355	115,150
Senna,	*lbs.*	. . .	105,619
Silk, Raw,	—	1,967,677	1,048,919
Silk Manufactures.			
Bandannoes, &c.	*pieces*	55,614	40,235
Crape Shawls, &c.	*no.*	. . .	16,985
Taffeties, &c.	*pieces*	4,579	2,108
Spirits, viz. Arrack,	*gal.*	. . .	22,108
Sugar, unrefined,	*cwts.*	120,475	576,654
Tin,	—	. . .	1,875
Tortoise-shell,	*lbs.*	. . .	34,418
Turmeric,	—	. . .	1,111,068
Vermillion,	—	. . .	243
Other Articles, value,		L.165	182,173
Total value of imports, L.		1,595,442	4,624,842

The future arrangements, with respect to the commerce as well as the government of British India, have not yet come under the consideration of Parliament. They will probably, however, become a subject of discussion during the following session. In the present work it has been our aim to afford materials from which a judgment may be formed, rather than to hazard any positive opinion on so extensive and difficult a question.

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